

## Tortus Lyes confuted.

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Confutation.

*This assertion implieth a strange doctrine in deede, that the Popes Breues are to be preferred before Moyſes Law: And that Papists are more bound to obey the Popes decree, then the Iewes were to obey the Law of God pronounced by Moyſes.*

*Nonell doctrine. p.135.*

5 Churchmen are exempted from the Iurisdiction of secular Princes, & therefore are no subiects to Kings: yet ought they to obserue their Lawes concerning matters temporall, not by vertue of any Lawe, but by enforcement of reason, that is to say, not for that they are their Subiects, but because reason will giue it, that such Lawes are to bee kept for the publike good, and quiet of the Common-wealth.

Confutation.

*How true friends the Cardinall and his Chaplen are to Kings, that would haue so many Subiects exempted from their power: See my Premonition, p.20, 21. & Also, p.114, 115. &c. But as for this and the like new Aphorismes, I would haue these cunning Merchants to cease to vent such Ruffe for ancient and Catholike wares in the Christian world, till they haue disprooued their owne Venetians, who charge them with*

*Noneltie, and forgerie in this point.*



*Triplici*



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*Triplici*



*Is with preceding*

*Triplicinodo, triplex cuneus.*

OR  
AN APOLOGIE  
FOR THE OATH  
of Allegiance.

*Against the two Breues of Pope*  
PAVLVS QVINTVS, and the late  
Letter of Cardinall BELLAR-  
MINE TO G. BLACKVELL  
the Arch-priest.

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*Tunc omnes populi clamauerunt & dixerunt,  
Magna est Veritas, & praeualet. ESDR. 3.*

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*¶ Authoritate Regiâ.*

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Excellent Maiestie.

ANNO 1609





# AN APOLOGIE FOR THE OATH of Allegiance.

**W**Hat a monstrous,  
rare, nay neuer heard-  
of Treacherous At-  
tempt, was plotted  
within these few yeeres  
here in England, for  
the destruction of Me,  
my Bed-fellow, and our Posterity, the whole  
house of Parliament, and a great number of  
good Subiects of all sorts and degrees : is so  
famous already through the whole world by  
the infamy thereof, as it is needlesse to be re-  
peated or published any more; the horror  
of the sinne it selfe doth so lowdly proclaime  
it. For if those <sup>a</sup> crying Sinnes (whereof  
mention is made in the Scripture) haue that  
A epithet

<sup>a</sup> Gen. 4. 10.



epithet giuen them for their publique infamie, and for procuring as it were with a loud crie from heauen a iust vengeance and recompense ; and yet those Sinnes are both old and too common, neither the world nor any one countrey being euer at any time cleane voyd of them : If those Sinnes (I say) are said in the Scripture to cry so lowd; What then must this Sinne doe, plotted without cause, infinite in cruelty, and singular from all examples ? What proceeded hereupon is likewise notorious to the whole world ; our Iustice onely taking hold vpon the Offenders, and that in as honourable and publike a forme of Triall, as euer was vsed in this Kingdome.

2. For although the onely reason they gaue for plotting so heinous an Attempt, was the zeale they caried to the Romish Religion ; yet were neuer any other of that profession the worse vsed for that cause, as by our gracious Proclamation immediatly after the discouery of the said fact doeth plainly appeare ; onely at the next Sitting downe againe of the Parliamēt, there were Lawes made,

made, setting downe some such Orders as were thought fit for preventing the like mischief in time to come. Amongst which a forme of OATH was framed to be taken by my Subiects, whereby they should make a cleare profession of their resolution faithfully to persist in their obedience vnto me, according to their naturall Allegiance: To the end that I might hereby make a separation, not onely betweene all my good Subiects in generall, and vnfaithfull Traitors that intended to withdraw themselves from my obedience; but specially to make a separation betweene so many of my Subiects, who although they were otherwise Popishly affected, yet retained in their hearts the print of their naturall duetie to their Soueraigne; and those who being caried away with the like fanaticall zeale that the *Powder-Traitors* were, could not containe themselves within the bounds of their naturall Allegiance, but thought diuersitie of Religion a safe pretext for all kinde of Treasons and rebellions against their Soueraigne. Which godly and wise intent G O D did blesse with



successes accordingly. For very many of my Subjects that were Popishly affected, aswell Priests as Layicks, did freely take the same Oath: whereby they both gaue me occasion to thinke the better of their fidelitie, and likewise freed themselues of that heavy slander, that although they were fellow professors of one Religion with the *Powder-Traitors*, yet were they not ioyned with them in treasonable Courses against their Soueraigne; whereby all quietly minded Papists were put out of despaire: and I gaue a good prooffe that I intended no persecution against them for conscience cause, but onely desired to be secured of them for ciuill obedience, which for conscience cause they were bound to performe.

3. But the Deuil could not haue deuised a more malicious tricke for interrupting this so calme and clement a course, then fell out by the sending hither and publishing a *Breue* of the *Popes*, countermaunding all them of his profession to take this Oath: Thereby sowing new seedes of ielousie betweene me and my Popish Subjects, by stirring

ring them vp to disobey that lawfull commandement of their Soueraigne, which was ordeined to be taken of them as a pledge of their fidelity ; And so by their refusall of so iust a charge, to giue me so great and iust a ground for punishment of them, without touching any matter of conscience : throwing themselues needlessly into one of these desperate straites ; either with the losse of their liues and goods to renounce their Allegiance to their naturall Soueraigne ; or else to procure the condemnation of their Soules by renouncing the Catholike faith, as he alleadgeth.

4. And on the other part, although disparity of Religion ( the Pope being head of the contrary part ) can permit no intelligence nor intercourse of messengers betweene me and the Pope : yet there being no denounced warre betweene vs, he hath by this action broken the rules of common ciuility and iustice betweene Christian Princes, in thus condemning me vnheard, both by accounting me a persecutor, which cannot be but implied by exhorting the Papists



to endure Martyrdome; as likewise by so straitly commanding all those of his Profession in England, to refuse the taking of this Oath; thereby refusing to professe their naturall obedience to me their Soueraigne. For if he thinke himselfe my lawfull Iudge, wherefore hath he condemned me vnheard? And, if he haue nothing to doe with me and my gouernement (as indeede he hath not) why doeth hee *mittere falcem in alienam messem*, to meddle betweene mee and my Subiects, especially in matters that meerely and onely concerne ciuill obedience? And yet could *Pius Quintus* in his greatest furie and auowed quarrell against the late Queene, do no more iniury vnto her; then he hath in this case offered vnto me, without so much as a pretended or an alleadged cause. For what difference there is, betweene the commanding Subiects to rebell, and loosing them from their Oath of Allegiance as *Pius Quintus* did; and the commanding of Subiects not to obey in making profession of their Oath of their dutiful Allegiance, as this Pope hath now done: no man can easily discern.

5. But



5. But to draw neere vnto his *Breue*, wherein certainly he hath taken more paines then he needed, by setting downe in the said *Breue* the whole body of the Oath at length; whereas the only naming of the Title thereof might as wel haue serued, for any answere he hath made therunto (making *Vna litura*, that is, the flat and generall condemnation of the whole Oath to serue for all his refutation) Therein hauing as well in this respect as in the former, dealt both vndiscreetly with me, and iniuriously with his owne Catholicks. With me; in not refuting particularly what speciall wordes hee quarrelled in that Oath; which if he had done, it might haue bene that for the fatherly care I haue not to put any of my Subiects to a needlesse extremitie, I might haue bene contented in some sort to haue reformed or interpreted those wordes. With his owne Catholicks; for either if I had so done, they had beene thereby fully eased in that businesse; or at least if I would not haue condescended to haue altered any thing in the said Oath, yet would thereby some appearance or shadow of excuse



cuse haue beene left vnto them for refusing the same: not as seeming thereby to swarue from their Obedience and Allegiance vnto me, but onely being stayed from taking the same vpon the scrupulous tenderesse of their consciences, in regard of those particular wordes which the Pope had noted and condemned therein.

And now let vs heare the wordes of his thunder.

**POPE**

# POPE PAVLVS

the fift, to the English

Catholikes.

**V**elbeloued Sonnes, Salutation  
and Apostolical Benediction. The  
tribulations and calamities, which  
yee haue continually susteined for  
the keeping of the Catholike Faith, haue alwayes  
afflicted vs with great grieve of minde: But for  
as much as we vnderstand that at this time all  
things are more grieuous, our affliction hereby is  
wonderfully increased. For we haue heard how  
you are compelled, by most grieuous punishments  
set before you, to goe to the Churches of Here-  
tiques, to frequent their assemblies, to be present  
at their Sermons. Truly we doe vndoubtedly  
beleue, that they which with so great constancie  
and fortitude, haue hitherto indured most cruell  
persecutions and almost infinite miseries, that  
they may walke without spot in the Law of the  
Lord; will neuer suffer themselves to bee defiled  
with the communion of those that haue forsaken

The Pope his  
first Breue.

B

the



the diuine Law. Yet notwithstanding, being compelled by the zeale of our Pastorall Office, and by our Fatherly care which we doe continually take for the saluation of your soules, we are inforced to admonish and desire you; that by no meanes you come vnto the Churches of the Heretikes, or heare their Sermons, or communicate with them in their Rites, lest you incurre the wrath of God. For these things may yee not doe without indamaging the worship of God, and your owne saluation. As likewise you cannot without most euident and grieuous wronging of Gods Honour, binde your selues by the Oath, which in like manner we haue heard with very great griefe of our heart is administred vnto you, of the tenor vnder written. viz.

The Oath.

**I** A. B. doe truely and sincerely acknowledge, professe, testifie and declare in my conscience before God and the world, That our Soueraigne Lord King I A M E S, is lawfull King of this Realme, and of all other his Maiesties Dominions and Countreyes: And that the Pope neither of himselfe, nor by any authoritie of the Church or Sea of Rome, or by any other meanes with any other,



ther, hath any power or authoritie to depose the King, or to dispose of any of his Maiesties Kingdomes or Dominions, or to authorize any forraigne Prince, to inuade or annoy him or his Countreys, or to discharge any of his Subiects of their Allegiance and obedience to his Maiestie, or to giue Licence or leaue to any of them to beare Armes, raise tumults, or to offer any violence or hurt to his Maiesties Royal person, State or Gouvernement, or to any of his Maiesties Subiectes within his Maiesties Dominions. Also I doe sweare from my heart, that, notwithstanding any declaration or sentence of Excommunication, or deprivation made or granted, or to be made or granted, by the *Pope* or his Successors, or by any Authoritie deriued, or pretended to be deriued from him or his Sea, against the said King, his Heires or Successors, or any Absolution of the said subiects from their Obedience; I will beare faith and true Allegiance to his Maiestie, his Heires and Successors, and him and them will defend to the vttermost of my power, against all Conspiracies and Attempts whatsoever,



which shalbe made against his or their Persons, their Crowne and dignitie, by reason or colour of any such Sentence, or declaration, or otherwise, and will doe my best endeavour to disclose and make knowne vnto his Maiestie, his Heires and Successors, all Treasons and traiterous Conspiracies, which I shall know or heare of, to be against him or any of them. And I doe further sweare, That I doe from my heart abhorre, detest and abiure as impious and Hereticall, this damnable doctrine and Position, That Princes which be excommunicated or depriued by the *Pope*, may be deposed or murdered by their Subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I doe beleue, and in conscience am resolved, that neither the *Pope* nor any person whatsoever, hath power to absolue me of this Oath, or any part thereof; which I acknowledge by good and full Authoritie to be lawfully ministred vnto me, and doe renounce all pardons and dispensations to the contrary. And all these things I doe plainly and sincerely acknowledge and sweare, according to these expresse wordes by me spoken,



ken, and according to the plaine and common sense and vnderstanding of the same words, without any Equiuocation, or mentall euasion, or secret reseruatiō whatsoeuer. And I doe make this Recognition and acknowledgement heartily, willingly and truly, vpon the true Faith of a Christian. So helpe me G O D.

*Which things since they are thus; it must evidently appeare vnto you by the words themselues, That such an Oath cannot be taken without hurting of the Catholique Faith, and the Saluation of your Soules; seeing it conteines many things, which are flat contrary to Faith and Saluation. Wherefore wee doe admonish you, that you doe utterly abstaine from taking this and the like Oathes: which thing wee doe the more earnestly require of you, because we haue experience of the Constancie of your Faith, which is tried like Gold in the fire of perpetuall Tribulation. Wee doe well knowe, that you will cheerefully vnder-goe all kind of cruell Torments whatsoeuer, yea and constantly endure death it selfe, rather then you will in any thing offend the Maiestie of God. And this our Confidence is confirmed by those things,*

B 3                      which



which are dayly reported vnto vs, of the singular vertue, valour and fortitude which in these last times doeth no lesse shine in your Martyrs, then it did in the first beginnings of the Church. Stand therefore, your Loynes being girt about with Veritie, and hauing on the Brest-plate of righteousnesse, taking the Shield of Faith, bee yee strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might; And let nothing hinder you. Hee which will crowne you, and doeth in Heauen beholde your Conflicts, will finish the good worke which he hath begun in you. You know how he hath promised his Disciples, that hee will neuer leaue them Orphanes: for hee is faithfull which hath promised. Hold fast therefore his correction, that is, being rooted and grounded in Charitie, whatsoeuer ye doe, whatsoeuer yee indenuour, doe it with one accord, in simplicitie of Heart, in meekenesse of Spirit, without murmuring or doubting. For by this doe all men know that wee are the Disciples of Christ, if we haue Loue one to another. Which Charitie, as it is very greatly to bee desired of all faithfull Christians; So certainly is it altogether necessary for you, most blessed Sonnes. For by this your Charitie,  
the



the power of the Deuill is weakened, who doeth  
so much assaile you, since that Power of his is e-  
specially up-held by the Contentions and Disa-  
greement of our Sonnes. We exhort you there-  
fore by the bowels of our Lord Iesus Christ, by  
whose Loue wee are taken out of the lawes of e-  
ternall Death; That aboue all things, you would  
haue mutuall Charitie among you. Surely Pope  
Clement the eight of happy memory, hath giuen  
you most profitable Precepts of practising bro-  
therly Charitie one to another, in his Letters in  
forme of a Breue, to our welbeloued Sonne M.  
George Arch-priest of the Kingdome of Eng-  
land, dated the 5. day of the moneth of October,  
1602. Put them therefore diligently in pra-  
ctise, and bee not hindered by any difficultie or  
doubtfulnesse. We command you that ye doe ex-  
actly obserue the words of those Letters, and that  
yee take and vnderstand them simply as they  
sound, and as they lie; all power to interpret them  
otherwise, being taken away. In the meane  
while, wee will neuer cease to pray to the Father  
of Mercies, that hee would with pitie beholde  
your afflictions and your paines; And that hee  
would keepe and defend you with his continuall  
Pro-



*Protection: whom we doe gently greet with our  
Apostolicall Benediction. Dated at Rome at S.  
Marke, under the Signet of the Fisberman, the  
tenth of the Calends of October, 1606. the se-  
cond yeere of our Popedome.*



## THE ANSWERE to the first Breue.

**F**irst, the *Pope* expresseth heerein  
his sorrow, for that Persecution  
which the Catholiques sustaine  
for the faiths sake. Wherein,  
besides the maine vntrueth whereby I am  
so iniuriously vsed, I must euer auow and  
maintaine, as the trueth is according to mine  
owne knowledge, that the late *Queene* of fa-  
mous memorie, neuer punished any *Papist*  
for religion, but that their owne punishment  
was euer extorted out of her hands against  
her will, by their owne misbehauour, which  
both the time and circumstances of her  
actions



actions will manifestly make prooffe of. For before *Pius Quintus* his excommunication, giuing her ouer for a praye, and setting her Subiects at libertie to rebell; it is wel knowne shee neuer medled with the blood or hard punishment of any Catholique, nor made any rigorous Lawes against them. And since that time, who list to compare with an indifferent eye, the manifold intended Inuasions against her whole Kingdome, the foraine practises, the internall publike rebellions, the priuate plots and machinations, poysonings, murthers and all sorts of deuises (*et quid non?*) dayly set abroach; and all these wares continually fostered and fomented from *Rome*; together with the continual corrupting of her Subiects, as well by temporall bribes, as by faire and specious promises of eternal felicitie; and nothing but booke vpon booke publikely set foorth by her fugitiues, for approbation of so holy designes: who list (I say) with an indifferent eye, to looke on the one part, vpon those infinite and intolerable temptations, and on the other part vpon the iust, yet moderate punish-

C

ment



*Protection: Whom we doe gently greet With our Apostolicall Benediction. Dated at Rome at S. Marke, under the Signet of the Fisherman, the tenth of the Calends of October, 1606. the second yeere of our Popedome.*



## THE ANSWERE to the first Breue.

**F**irst, the *Pope* expresseth heerein his sorrow, for that Persecution which the Catholiques sustaine for the faiths sake. Wherein, besides the maine vntrueth whereby I am so iniuriously vsed, I must euer auow and maintaine, as the trueth is according to mine owne knowledge, that the late *Queene* of famous memorie, neuer punished any Papist for religion, but that their owne punishment was euer extorted out of her hands against her will, by their owne misbehauour, which both the time and circumstances of her actions



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C

ment



ment of a part of these hainous offenders; shall easily see that that blessed defunct Lady was as free from Persecution, as they shall free these hellish Instruments from the honour of Martyrdome.

5. But now hauing sacrificed (if I may so say) to the *Manes* of my late Predecessor, I may next with *S. Paul* iustly vindicate my owne fame, from those innumerable calumnies spred against me, in testifying the trueth of my behauiour toward the Papists: wherein I may truly affirme, that whatsoever was her iust and merciful Gouvernement ouer the Papists in her time, my Gouvernement ouer them since hath so farre exceeded hers, in mercy and clemency, as not onely the Papists themselues grewe to that height of pride in confidence of my mildenesse, as they did directly expect and assuredly promise to themselves libertie of conscience, and equalitie with other of my Subiects in all things; but euen a number of the best and faithfullest of my said Subiects, were cast in great feare and amazement of my course and proceedings, euer prognosticating and iustly suspecting that



that sower fruit to come of it, which shewed it selfe clearely in the *Powder-Treason*. How many did I honour with Knighthood, of knownen and open Recusants? How indifferently did I giue audience and accesse to both sides, bestowing equally all fauours and honours on both professions? How free and continuall accesse had all rankes and degrees of Papists in my Court and company? And aboue all, how frankely and freely did I free Recusants of their ordinary payments? Besides, it is euident what strait order was giuen out of my owne mouth to the Iudges, to spare the execution of all Priestes (notwithstanding their conuiction) ioyning thereunto a gracious Proclamation, whereby all Priestes that were at libertie and not taken, might go out of the countrey by such a day; my generall Pardon hauing bene extended to all conuicted Priestes in prison: whereupon they were set at libertie, as good Subiects; and all Priestes that were taken after, sent ouer and set at libertie there. But time and paper will faile me to make enumeration of all the benefits and fauours that I

C 2      bestowed



*a Magna cum  
animo marore,  
etc.*

bestowed in generall and particular vpon Papists: in recounting whereof, every scrape of my pen would serue but for a blot of the Popes ingratitude and iniustice, in meting me with so hard a measure for the same. So as I thinke I haue sufficiently, or at least with good reason, wiped the <sup>a</sup> *teares* from the Popes eyes, for complaining vpon such Persecution; who if he had bene but politikely wise, although he had had no respect to Iustice and Veritie, would haue in this complaint of his, made a difference betweene my present time, and the time of the late Queene: And so by his commending of my moderation, in regard of former times, might haue had hope to haue moued me to haue continued in the same clement course. For it is a true saying, That alledged kindnes vpon noble mindes, doeth euer worke much. And for the maine vntrueth of any Persecution in my time; it can neuer be proued that any were, or are put to death since I came to the Crowne, for cause of Conscience: except that now this discharge giuen by the Pope to all Catholikes to take their Oath of Allegiance

*hallowed*

*5 3*

to



to me, be the cause of the due punishment of many: which if it fall out to be, let the blood light vpon the Popes head, who is the onely cause thereof.

As for the next point contained in his *Breue*, concerning his discharge of all Papists to come to our Church, or frequent our rites and ceremonies; I am not to meddle at this time with that matter, because my errand now onely is to publish to the world the iniurie and Iniustice done vnto me, in discharging my Subiects to make profession of their obedience vnto me. Now as to the point where the Oath is quarrelled, it is set downe in few, but very weightie wordes; to wit, *That it ought to be cleare vnto all Catholiques, that this Oath cannot be taken with safetie of the Catholike Faith, and of their soules health; since it conteineth many things that are plainly and directly contrary to their faith and saluation.* To this, the old saying fathered vpon the Philosopher may very fitly be applied, *Multa dicit, sed pauca probat*: nay indeed, *Nil omnino probat*. For how the profession of the naturall Allegiance of Subiects to their

The intendment of this Discourse.



a Iosh. 1. 17.

b Iere. 27. 12.

c Exod. 5. 1.

d Ezra 1. 3.

e Rom. 13. 5.

f Augustin  
Psal. 124.

Prince, can be directly opposite to the faith and saluation of soules, is so farre beyond my simple reading in Diuinitie, as I must thinke it a strange and new Assertion, to proceed out of the mouth of that pretended generall Pastor of all Christian soules. I reade in deed, and not in one, or two, or three places of Scripture, that Subiects are bound to obey their Princes for conscience sake, whether they were good or wicked Princes. So said the people to <sup>a</sup> Ioshua, *As we obeyed Moyses in all things, so wil we obey thee.* So the <sup>b</sup> Prophet commanded the people to obey the King of Babel, saying, *Put your neckes vnder the yoke of the King of Babel, and serue him and his people, that ye may liue.* So were the children of Israel vnto <sup>c</sup> Pharaoh, desiring him to let them goe; so to <sup>d</sup> Cyrus, obtaining leaue of him to returne to build the Temple; and in a word, the <sup>e</sup> Apostle willed all men to be *subiect to the higher powers for Conscience sake.* Agreeably to the Scriptures did the Fathers teach. <sup>f</sup> Augustine speaking of *Iulian*, saith, *Iulian was an unbeleeuing Emperour: was he not an Apostata, an Oppressour, and an Idolater?*

Christian



Christian Souldiers serued that vnbeleeuing  
Emperour: when they came to the cause of  
CHRIST, they would acknowledge no Lord,  
but him that is in heauen. When he would haue  
them to worship Idoles and to sacrifice, they pre-  
ferred GOD before him: But when he said, Goe  
forth to fight, Inuade such a nation, they present-  
ly obeyed. They distinguished their eternall Lord  
from their temporall, and yet were they sub-  
iect euen vnto their temporall Lord, for his  
sake that was their eternall Lord and Master.  
Tertullian saith; A Christian is enemy to no  
man, much lesse to the Prince, whom he know-  
eth to be appointed of God: and so of necessitie  
must loue, reuerence and honour him, and wish  
him safe with the whole Romane Empire, so long  
as the world shall last: for so long shall it endure.  
We honour therefore the Emperour, in such sort  
as is lawfull for vs, and expedient for him; as a  
man the next vnto God, and obtaining from God  
whatsoever hee hath, and onely inferiour vnto  
God. This the Emperour himselfe would; for so  
is he greater then all, while he is inferiour onely  
to the true God. Iustine Martyr; We onely a-  
dore God, and in all other things cheerefully per-  
forme

g Tertul. ad.  
Scap.

h Iust Martyr  
Apol. 2. ad Ant.  
Imperat.



i Amb. in orat.  
cont. Auxentii  
de basilicis tra-  
den. habetur lib.  
5. Epist. Amb.

k Optat. contra.  
Parmen. lib. 3.

l Greg. Mag.  
Epist. lib. 2.  
indict. 11.  
Epist. 61.

forme service to you, professing that you are Em-  
perours and Princes of men. Ambrose; I may  
lament, weepe and sigh: My teares are my wea-  
pons against their armes, souldiers, and the  
Goths also; such are the weapons of a Priest:  
Otherwise neither ought I, neither can I resist.  
k Optatus; Over the Emperour, there is none but  
only God, that made the Emperour. And l Gre-  
gory writing to Mauritius about a certaine  
Law, that a Souldier should not be receiued  
into a Monastery, *nondum explet a militia*: The  
Almightie God (saith he) holdes him guilty, that  
is not upright to the most excellent Emperour  
in all things that he doth or speaketh. And then  
calling himselfe the vnworthy Seruant of his  
Godlinesse, goeth on in the whole Epistle to  
shew the iniustice of that Law, as he preten-  
deth: and in the end concludes his epistle  
with these words; I being subiect to your com-  
maund, haue caused the same law to bee sent  
tbrough diuers parts of your Dominions; and be-  
cause the law it selfe doeth not agree to the Law  
of the Almighty God, I haue signified the same  
by my letters to your most excellent Lordship:  
so that on both parts I haue payed what I ought;  
because



*because I haue yeelded obedience to the Empe-  
rour, and haue not holden my peace, in what I  
thought for God. Now how great a contrari-  
etie there is, betwixt this ancient Popes acti-  
on in obeying an Emperour by the publica-  
tion of his Decree, which in his owne consci-  
ence he thought vnlawfull, and this present  
Popes prohibition to a Kings Subiects from  
obedience vnto him in things most lawfull  
and meere temporall; I remit it to the Rea-  
ders indifferency. And answerably to the  
Fathers spake the Councils in their Decrees.  
As the Councell of<sup>m</sup> Arles, submitting the  
whole Councell to the Emperour in these  
words; *These things we haue decreed to be pre-  
sented to our lord the Emperour, beseeching his  
Clemencie, that if we haue done lesse then we  
ought, it may be supplied by his wisedome: if any  
thing otherwise then reason requireth, it may be  
corrected by his iudgement: if any thing be found  
fault with by vs with reason, it may be perfected  
by his ayd with Gods fauourable assistance.**

*m Concil. Are-  
latense sub Ca-  
rolo Mag. Can.  
26.*

But why should I speake of Charles the  
Great, to whom not one Councell, but fixe  
seuerall Councils, Frankford, Arles, Tours,  
D Chalons,

*noted*



*a* Vide epistolam  
generalem  
Conc. Ephes. ad  
August.

*b* Iohn. 18.36.

*c* Matt. 22.21.

*Chalons, Mentz and Rhemes* did wholly submit themselves? and not rather speake of all the generall Councils, that of *Nice, Constanti-  
nople, Ephesus, Chalcedon*, and the foure other commonly so reputed, which did submit themselves to the Emperours wisdom and pietie in all things? Insomuch as that of *Ephesus* repeated it foure severall times, *That they were summoned by the Emperours Oracle, becke, charge and commaund, and betooke themselves to his Godlinesse: a beseeching him, that the Decrees made against Nestorius and his followers, might by his power haue their full force and validitie*, as appeareth manifestly in the Epistle of the generall Councell of *Ephesus* written *ad Augustos*. I also read that Christ said, *his b kingdome was not of this world*, bidding, *Giue to c Cæsar what was Cæsars, and to God what was Gods*. And I euer held it for an infallible maxime in Diuinity, That temporall obedience to a temporall Magistrate, did nothing repugne to matters of faith or saluation of soules. But that euer temporall obedience was against faith and saluation of soules, as in this *Breue* is alleadged, was neuer before



before heard nor read of in the Christian Church. And therefore I would haue wished the *Pope*, before he had set downe this commandement to all Papiſts here, That, ſince in him is the power by the infallibilitie of his ſpirit, to make new Articles of Faith when euer it ſhall pleaſe him; he had firſt ſet it downe for an Article of Faith, before hee had commanded all Catholikes to beleeeue and obey it. I will then conclude the anſwere to this point in a *Dilemma*.

Either it is lawfull to obey the Soueraigne in temporall things, or not.

Question.

If it be lawfull (as I neuer heard nor read it doubted of) then why is the *Pope* ſo vniuſt, and ſo cruell towards his owne Catholikes, as to command them to diſobey their Soueraignes lawfull commandement?

1.

If it be vnlawfull, why hath he neither expreſſed any one cauſe or reaſon thereof, nor yet will giue them leaue (nay rather hee ſhould commaund and perſwade them in plaine termes) not to liue vnder a King whom vnto they ought no obedience?

2.

And as for the vehement exhortation vn-

Anſwere to  
the Popes ex-  
hortation.

D 2

to



to them to perseuere in constancie, and to suffer Martyrdome and all tribulation for this cause; it requireth no other answere then onely this, That if the ground be good whereupon hee hath commanded them to stand, then exhortation to constancie is necessary: but if the ground bee vniust and naught (as indeed it is, and I haue in part already proued) then this exhortation of his can worke no other effect, then to make him guilty of the blood of so many of his sheepe, whom he doeth thus wilfully cast away, not onely to the needlesse losse of their liues, and ruine of their families, but euen to the laying on of a perpetuall slander vpon all Papists; as if no zealous Papist could be a true Subject to his Prince; and that the profession of that Religion, and the Temporall obedience to the Ciuill Magistrate, were two things repugnant and incompatible in themselves. But euill information, and vntrue reports (which being caried so farre as betweene this and *Rome*, cannot but increase by the way) might haue abused the *Pope*, and made him dispatch this *Breue* so rashly. For that

*Fama vires acquirit eundo.*



that great Citie, Queene of the World, and as themselves confesse, <sup>a</sup> mystically *Babylon*, cannot but be so full of all sorts of Intelligencies. Besides, all complainers (as the Catholikes here are) be naturally giuen to exaggerate their owne griefes, and multiply thereupon. So that it is no wonder, that euen a iust Iudge sitting there, should vpon wrong information giue an vnrighteous sentence: as some of their owne partie doe not sticke to confesse, That *Pius Quintus* was too rashly caried vpon wrong Information, to pronounce his thunder of Excommunication vpon the late Queene. And it may be, the like excuse shal hereafter be made for the two *Breues*, which <sup>b</sup> *Clemens Octauus* sent to *England* immediatly before her death, for debarring me of the Crowne, or any other that either would professe, or any wayes tolerate the professors of our Religion; contrary to his manifold vowes and protestations, *simul & eodem tempore*, and as it were, deliuered *uno & eodem spiritu*, to diuers of my ministers abroad, professing such kindnesse, and shewing such forwardnesse to aduance

<sup>a</sup> *Ensebius, Oecumenius* and *Leo* hold, that by *Babylon* in 1. Pet. 5. 13. *Rome* is meant, as the *Rhemists* themselves confesse.

<sup>b</sup> See the Relation of the whole proceedings against the *Traitours, Garnet* and his confederates.



The Catho-  
likes opinion  
of the *Breue*.

me to this Crowne. Nay, the most part of Catholikes here, finding this *Breue* when it came to their handes, to be so farre against diuinitie, policie or natural sense, were firmly perswaded that it was but a counterfeit Libel, deuised in hatred of the *Pope*; or at the farthest, a thing hastily done vpon wrong information, as was before said. Of which opinion were not onely the simpler sort of Papists, but euen some amongst them of best account, both for learning and experience; whereof the Archpriest himselfe was one. But for soluing of this obiection, the *Pope* himselfe hath taken new paines by sending forth a second *Breue*, onely for giuing faith and confirmation to the former: That whereas before, his sinne might haue bene thought to haue proceeded from rashnesse and mis-information, he will now wilfully and willingly double the same: whereof the Copie followeth.

---

T O



TO OVR BELO-  
ued Sonnes the English Ca-  
tholikes, *Paulus P.P.VIII.*

**B**eloued Sonnes, Salutation and  
Apostolicall benediction. It is  
reported vnto vs, that there are  
found certaine amongst you, who  
when as we haue sufficiently de-  
clared by our Letters, dated the last yeere on the  
tenth of the Calends of October in the forme of a  
Breue, that ye cannot with safe Conscience take  
the Oath, which was then required of you; and  
when as we haue further straitly commanded  
you, that by no meanes ye should take it: yet there  
are some, I say, among you, which dare now af-  
firme, that such letters concerning the forbid-  
ding of the Oath, were not written of our owne  
accord, or of our owne proper will, but rather for  
the respect and at the instigation of other men.  
And for that cause, the same men do goe about to  
perswade you, that our commands in the said let-  
ters are not to be regarded. Surely this newes did  
trouble

The second  
Breue.



trouble vs; and that so much the more, because hauing had experience of your obedience (most dearely beloued Sonnes) who to the end ye might obey this holy Sea, haue godlily and valiantly contemned your riches, wealth, honour, libertie, yea and life it selfe; we should neuer haue suspected, that the trueth of our Apostolike letters could once be called into question among you, that by this pretence yee might exempt your selues from our commandements. But we doe herein perceiue the subtiltie and craft of the enemye of mans saluation; and wee doe attribute this your backwardnesse rather to him, then to your owne will. And for this cause, wee haue thought good to write the second time vnto you, and to signifie vnto you againe, That our Apostolike letters, dated the last yeere on the tenth of the Calends of October, concerning the prohibition of the Oath, were written, not onely vpon our proper motion, and of our certaine knowledge, but also after long and weightie deliberation vsed concerning all those things, which are contained in them; and that for that cause yee are bound fully to obserue them, reiecting all interpretation perswading to the contrary. And this is our meere, pure, and perfect




perfect will, being alwayes carefull of your saluation, and alwaies minding those things which are most profitable vnto you. And we doe pray without ceasing, that he that hath appointed our lowlinesse to the keeping of the flocke of Christ, would inlighten our thoughts and our counsels: whom we do also continually desire, that he would increase in you (our beloued sonnes) faith, constancie, and mutuall charity and peace one to another. All whom, we doe most louingly blesse with all charitable affection.

Dated at Rome at Saint Markes vnder the Signet of the Fisherman, the x. of the Calends of September, 1607. the third yeere of our Popedome.

**E THE**





## THE ANSWERE to the second Breue.

**N**ow for this Breue, I may iustly reflect his owne phrase vpon him, in tearing it to bee *The craft of the Deuil*. For if the Deuil had studied a thousand yeres, for to finde out a mischief for our Catholikes heere, hee hath found it in this: that now when many Catholikes haue taken their Oath, and some Priestes also; yea, the Arch-priest himselfe, without compunction or sticking, they shall not now only be bound to refuse the profession of their naturall Allegiance to their So-ueraigne, which might yet haue bene some way coloured vpon diuers scruples conceiued vpon the wordes of the Oath; but they must now renounce and forswear their profession of obedience already sworne, and so must as it were at the third instance forswear

A double  
Oath of euery  
Subiect.



swear their former two Oaths, first closely sworn by their birth in their naturall Allegiance; and next, clearly confirmed by this Oath, which doeth nothing but expresse the same: so as no man can now hold the faith, or procure the saluation of his soule in *England*, that must not abiure and renounce his borne and sworn Allegiance to his naturall Soueraigne.

And yet it is not sufficient to ratifie the last yeeres *Breue*, by a new one come forth this yeere; but (that not onely every yeere, but every moneth may produce a new monster) the great and famous Writer of the Controuersies, the late vn-Iesuited Cardinall *Bellarmino*, must adde his talent to this good worke, by blowing the bellows of sedition, and sharpening the spur to rebellion, by sending such a Letter of his to the Arch-priest here, as it is a wonder how passion and an ambitious desire of maintaining that Monarchie, should charme the wits of so famously learned a man.

The Copie whereof here followeth.

E 2

TO



TO THE VERY RE-  
uerend M<sup>r</sup> George Blackwell,  
Arch-priest of the English: Robert Bel-  
larmino Cardinall of the holy Church of  
Rome, greeting.



Everend Sir, and Brother in  
CHRIST; It is almost forty  
yeeres since wee did see one the  
other: but yet I haue neuer bene  
vnmindfull of our ancient ac-  
quaintance, neither haue I ceased, seeing I could  
doe you no other good, to commend your labou-  
ring most painefully in the Lords vineyard, in my  
prayers to God. And I doubt not, but that  
I haue liued all this while in your memory, and  
haue had some place in your prayers at the Lords  
Altar. So therefore euen vnto this time wee  
haue abidden, as S. Iohn speaketh, in the mutuall  
loue one of the other, not by word or letter, but  
in deed and trueth. But a late message which  
was brought vnto vs within these few dayes, of  
your bonds and imprisonment, hath inforced mee

to



to breake off this silence; which message, although it seemed heavy in regard of the losse which that Church hath receiued, by their being thus deprined of the comfort of your pastorall function amongst them, yet withall it seemed ioyous, because you drew neere vnto the glory of Martyrdome, then the which gift of God there is none more happy; That you, who haue fedde your flocke so many yeeres with the worde and doctrine, should now feed it more gloriously by the example of your patience. But another heavy tidings did not a little disquiet and almost take away this ioy, which immediatly followed, of the aduersaries assault, and peradventure of the slip and fall of your Constancie in refusing an unlawfull Oath. Neither truely (most deare Brother) could that Oath therefore be lawfull, because it was offered in sort tempered and modified: for you know that those kinde of modifications are nothing els, but sleights and subtilties of Satan, that the Catholike faith touching the Primacie of the Sea Apostolike, might either secretly or openly be shot at, for the which faith so many worthy Martyrs even in that very England it selfe, haue resisted vnto blood. For most certaine



it is, that in whatsoeuer wordes the Oath is conceiued by the aduersaries of the faith in that Kingdome, it tends to this end, that the Authoritie of the head of the Church in England, may be transferred from the Successor of S. Peter, to the Successor of K. Henry the eight. For that which is pretended of the danger of the Kings life, if the high Priest should haue the same power in England, which hee hath in all other Christian Kingdomes, it is altogether idle, as all that haue any understanding, may easily perceiue. For it was neuer heard of from the Churches infancie vntill this day, that euer any Pope did command, that any Prince, though an Heretike, though an Ethnike though a Persecutor, should bee murdered; or did approue of the fact, when it was done by any other. And why, I pray you, doeth onely the King of England feare that, which none of all other the Princes in Christendome either doeth feare, or euer did feare?

But, as I said, these vaine pretexts are but the trappes and stratagemes of Satan: Of which kinde I could produce not a few out of Ancient Stories, if I went about to write a booke and not an Epistle. One onely for example sake, I will call



call to your memory. S. Gregorius Nazianzenus in his first Oration against Iulian the Emperour, reporteth, That hee, the more easily to beguile the simple Christians, did insert the Images of the false gods into the pictures of the Emperour, which the Romanes did use to bow downe vnto with a ciuill kind of reuerence: so that no man could doe reuerence to the Emperours picture, but withall he must adore the Images of the false gods; Whereupon it came to passe that many were deceived. And if there were any that found out the Emperours craft, and refused to worship his picture, those were most grievously punished, as men that had contemned the Emperour in his Image. Some such like thing, mee thinks, I see in the Oath that is offered to you, which is so craftily composed, that no man can detest Treason against the King, and make profession of his Ciuill subiection, but hee must be constrained perfidiously to deny the Primacie of the Apostolike See. But the seruants of Christ, and especially the chiefe Priests of the Lord ought to be so farre from taking an unlawfull Oath, where they may indamage the Faith, that they ought to beware that they giue not the least suspicion of dissimulation



lacion that they haue taken it, least they might seeme to haue left any example of preuarication to faithfull people. Which thing that worthy Eleazar did most notably perfourme, who would neither eate swines flesh, nor so much as faine to haue eaten it, although hee saw the great torments that did hang ouer his head; lest, as himselfe speaketh in the second booke of the Machabees, many young men might be brought through that simulation, to preuaricate with the Lawe. Neither did Basil the great by his example, which is more fit for our purpose, carry himselfe lesse worthily toward Valens the Emperour. For as Theodoret writeth in his History, when the Deputy of that heretical Emperour did perswade Saint Basil, that he would not resist the Emperour for a little subtilty of a few poynts of doctrine, that most holy and prudent man made answer, That it was not to bee endured, that the least syllable of Gods word should bee corrupted, but rather all kind of torment was to be embraced, for the maintenance of the Trueth thereof. Now I suppose, that there wants not amongst you, who say that they are but subtilties of opinions that are contained in the

Oath



Oath that is offered to the Catholikes, and that you are not to strue against the Kings Authoritie for such a little matter. But there are not wanting also amongst you holy men like unto Basil the Great, which will openly auow, that the very least syllable of Gods diuine trueth is not to be corrupted, though many torments were to be endured, and death it selfe set before you. Amongst whom it is meete, that you should bee one, or rather the Standerd-bearer, and General to the rest. And whatsoever hath beene the cause, that your Constancie hath quailed, whether it be the suddennesse of your apprehension, or the bitternesse of your persecution, or the imbecillitie of your old age: yet we trust in the goodnesse of God, and in your owne long continued vertue, that it will come to passe, that as you seeme in some part to haue imitated the fall of Peter and Marcellinus, so you shall happily imitate their valour in recouering your strength, and maintaining the trueth. For if you will diligently weigh the whole matter with your selfe, truly you shall see, it is no small matter that is called in question by this Oath, but one of the principall heads of our faith and foundations of Catholique  
F Religion.



*Religion. For heare what your Apostle S. Gregory the Great hath written, in his 24. Epistle of his 11. booke. Let not the reuerence due to the Apostolique Sea, bee troubled by any mans presumption: for then the state of the members doeth remaine entire, when the head of the faith is not bruised by any iniurie. Therefore, by S. Gregories testimony, when they are busie about disturbing or diminishing, or taking away of the Primacie of the Apostolique Sea: then are they busie about cutting off the very head of the faith, and dissoluing of the state of the whole body, and of all the members. Which selfe same thing S. Leo doth confirme in his third Sermon of his Assumption to the Popedome, when he saith, Our Lord had a speciall care of Peter, and prayed properly for Peters faith, as though the state of others were more stable, when their Princes mind was not to be overcome. Whereupon himselfe in his Epistle to the Bishops of the prouince of Vienna, doeth not doubt to affirme, That he is not partaker of the diuine Mystery, that dare depart from the soliditie of Peter: who also saith, That who thinketh the Primacie to be denied to that Sea, he*

can



can in no sort lessen the authoritie of it : but by being puffed vp with the spirit of his owne pride, doth cast himselfe headlong into hell. These and many other of this kinde, I am very sure are most familiar to you : who besides many other books, haue diligently read ouer the visible Monarchie of your owne Saunders, a most diligent writer, and one who hath worthily deserved of the Church of England. Neither can you be ignorant, that these most holy and learned men, Iohn bishop of Rochester, and Thomas Moore within our memory, for this one most weightie head of doctrine, led the way to Martyrdome to many others, to the exceeding glory of the English nation. But I would put you in remembrance that you should take heart, and considering the weightines of the cause, not to trust too much to your owne iudgement, neither be wise aboue that is meet to be wise : and if peradventure your fall haue proceeded not vpon want of consideration, but through humane infirmitie, and for feare of punishment and imprisonment; yet doe not preferre a temporall libertie to the libertie of the glory of the Sonnes of God : neither for escaping a light and momentanie tribulation, lose an



eternal weight of glory, which tribulation it selfe doeth worke in you. You haue fought a good fight a long time, you haue wel-neere finished your course; so many yeres haue you kept the faith: doe not therefore lose the reward of such labours; do not deprive your selfe of that Crowne of righteousness which so long agoe is prepared for you; Doe not make the faces of so many yours both brethren and children asbamed. Vpon you at this time are fixed the eyes of all the Church: yea also, you are made a spectacle to the world, to Angels, to men: Do not so carie your selfe in this your last acte, that you leaue nothing but laments to your friends, and ioy to your enemies. But rather on the contrary, which we assuredly hope, and for which we continually powre forth praiers to God, display gloriously the banner of faith, and make to reioyce the Church, which you haue made heauie: so shall you not onely merit pardon at Gods hands, but a Crowne. Farewell. Quite you like a man, and let your heart be strengthened. From Rome the 28. day of September, 1607.

Your very Reuerendships brother  
and seruant in Christ, Robert  
Bellarmino Cardinall.

THE



# THE ANSWERE

to the Cardinals letter.

**A**ND now that I am to enter into the fiele against him by refuting his Letter, I must first vse this protestation; That no desire of vaine glory by matching with so learned a man, maketh mee to vnder- take this taske; but onely the care & conscience I haue, that such smooth *Circes* charmes and guilded pilles, as full of exterior eloquence as of inward vntueths, may not haue that publique passage through the world without an answer: whereby my reputation might vniustly be darkened, by such cloudie and foggie mistes of vntueths and false imputations, the hearts of vnstayed and simple men be mis-led, and the trueth it selfe smothered.

But before I come to the particular answer of this Letter, I must heere desire the



A great mistaking of the state of the Question and case in hand.

world to wonder with me, at the committing of so grosse an error by so learned a man: as that hee should haue pained himselfe to haue set downe so elaborate a letter, for the refutation of a quite mistaken question. For it appeareth, that our English Fugitiues, of whose inward societie with him hee so greatly vaunteth, haue so fast hammered in his head the Oath of Supremacie, which hath euerbeene so great a scarre vnto them, as hee thinking by his letter to haue refuted the last Oath, hath in place thereof onely payd the Oath of Supremacie, which was most in his head: as a man that being earnestly caried in his thoughts vpon another matter then hee is presently in doing, will often name the matter or person hee is thinking of, in place of the other thing hee hath at that time in hand.

The difference betweene the Oath of Supremacie, and this of Allegiance.

For, as the Oath of Supremacie was deuised for putting a difference betweene Papists, and them of our profession: so was this Oath, which hee would seeme to impugn, ordained for making a difference betweene the ciuilly obedient Papists, and the peruerse



peruerse disciples of the powder-Treason. Yet doeth all his Letter runne vpon an Inuētiue against the compulsion of Catholiques to denie the authoritie of Saint *Peters* Successors, and in place thereof to acknowledge the Successors of King *Henry* the eight. For, in King *Henry* the eights time was the Oath of Supremacie first made: by him were *Thomas Moore* and *Roffensis* put to death, partly for refusing of it. From his time till now haue all the Princes of this land professing this Religion, successiuelly in effect maintained the same: and in that Oath onely is contained the Kings absolute power to bee Iudge ouer all persons, aswell Ciuill as Ecclesiasticall; excluding all forreigne powers and Potentates to be Iudges within his Dominions: whereas this last made Oath containeth no such matter, onely meddling with the ciuill Obedience of subiects to their Soueraigne, in meere temporall causes.

And that it may the better appeare, that whereas by name hee seemeth to condemne the last Oath; yet indeede his whole Letter runneth vpon nothing, but vpon the condemna-



demnation of the Oath of Supremacie: I haue heere thought good to set downe the said Oath, leauing it then to the discretion of euery indifferent reader to iudge, whether he doeth not in substance onely answere to the Oath of Supremacie, but that hee giueth the child a wrong name.

**I** *A. B. doe vtterly testifie and declare in my Conscience, that the Kings Highnesse is the onely Supreme Gouvernour of this Realme, and all other his Highnesse Dominions and Countries, as well in all Spirituall or Ecclesiasticall things or causes, as Temporall: And that no forraine Prince, Person, Prelate, State or Potentate, hath or ought to haue any Iurisdiction, Power, Superioritie, Preeminence or Authoritie Ecclesiasticall or Spirituall within this Realme. And therefore, I do vtterly renounce and forsake all forreine Iuridictions, Powers, Superiorities and Authorities; and do promise that from hencefoorth I shall beare faith and true Allegiance to the Kings Highnesse, his Heires and lawfull Successours: and to my power shall assist and defend all Iuridictions, Priuiledges, Preeminences and Authorities granted or belonging to*  
the



*the Kings Highnes, his Heires and Successours,  
or vnited and annexed to the Imperiall Crowne  
of the Realme: So helpe me God: and by the Con-  
tents of this booke.*

And that the iniustice, as well as the er-  
rour of his grosse mistaking in this poynt,  
may yet be more clearly discovered; I haue  
also thought good to insert here immediatly  
after the Oath of Supremacie, the contrary  
Conclusions to all the poynts and Articles,  
whereof this other late Oath doeth consist:  
whereby it may appeare, what vnreasonable  
and rebellious poynts hee would driue my  
Subiects vnto, by refusing the whole body  
of that Oath, as it is conceiued. For he that  
shall refuse to take this Oath, must of neces-  
sitie hold all, or some of these propositions  
following.

That I, King IAMES, am not the lawfull  
King of this Kingdome, and of all other my  
Dominions.

That the Pope by his owne authority  
may depose me. If not by his owne autho-  
rity, yet by some other authority of the  
Church, or of the Sea of Rome. If not by  
some

1.

2.

G

some



some other authority of the Church and Sea of Rome, yet by other meanes with others helpe, he may depose me.

3. That the Pope may dispose of my Kingdomes and Dominions.

4. That the Pope may giue authoritie to some forreine Prince to inuade my Dominions.

5. That the Pope may discharge my Subjects of their Allegiance and Obedience to mee.

6. That the Pope may giue licence to one, or more of my Subjects to beare armes against me.

7. That the Pope may giue leaue to my Subjects to offer violence to my Person, or to my Gouvernement, or to some of my Subjects.

8. That if the Pope shal by Sentence excommunicate or depose me, my Subjects are not to beare Faith and Allegiance to me.

9. If the Pope shall by Sentence excommunicate or depose mee, my Subjects are not bound to defend with all their power my Person and Crowne.

10. If the Pope shal giue out any Sentence of Excom-



## the Oath of Allegiance.

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Excommunication or Deprivation against me, my Subjects by reason of that Sentence, are not bound to reveale all conspiracies and Treasons against mee, which shall come to their hearing and knowledge.

That it is not hereticall and detestable to holde, that Princes being excommunicated by the Pope, may be either deposed or killed by their Subjects, or any other.

That the Pope hath power to absolve my Subjects from this Oath, or from some part thereof.

That this Oath is not administred to my Subjects by a full and lawfull authority.

That this Oath is to be taken with Equivocation, mentall evasion, or secret reservations and not with the heart and good will, sincerely in the true faith of a Christian man.

These are the true and naturall branches of the body of this Oath. The affirmatiue of all which negatives, doe neither concerne in any case the Popes Supremacy in spirituall causes: nor yet were ever concluded, and defined by any complete generall Councell to belong to the Popes authoritie; and their

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owne

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14.

Touching the pretended Councell of Lateran. See Plat. In vita Inocen. III.



owne schoole Doctours are at irreconcilable  
oddes and iarres about them.

The Oath of  
Allegiance  
confirmed by  
the authority  
of ancient  
Councils.

And that the world may yet farther see  
ours and the whole States setting downe of  
this Oath, did not proceede from any new  
invention of our owne, but as it is warranted  
by the word of God: so doeth it take the  
example from an Oath of Allegiance de-  
creed a thousand yeeres agoe, which a fa-  
mous Councell then, together with diuers o-  
ther Councils, were so farre from condem-  
ning (as the Pope now hath done this Oath)  
as I have thought good to set downe their  
owne words here in that purpose: whereby  
it may appeare that I craue nothing now of  
my Subiects in this Oath, which was not ex-  
pressly and carefully commaunded then, by  
the Councils to be obeyed without excepti-  
on of persons. Nay, not in the very particu-  
lar point of *equivocation*, which I in this Oath  
was so carefull to haue eschewed: but you  
shall heere see the said Councils in their De-  
crees, as careful to provide for the eschewing  
of the same, so as almost euery poynt of that  
Action, and this of ours shall bee found to  
haue

The ancient  
Councils pro-  
vided for E-  
quivocation.



# the Oath of Allegiance.

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have relation and agreement one with the other, save onely in this, that those old Councils were careful and strait in commanding the taking of the same: whereas by the contrary, hee that now vaunterh himselfe to bee head of all Councils, is as carefull and strait in the prohibition of all men from the taking of this Oath of Allegiance.

The difference betweene the ancient Councils, and the Pope counselling of the Catholikes.

Concil. Toletan.  
4. can. 47.  
Ann. 633.

The wordes of the Councell bee these.  
Hearre our Sentence.

Who soever of us, or of all the people throughout all Spaine, shall goe about by any meanes of conspiracy or practise, to violate the Oath of his fidelity, which he hath taken for the preservation of his Countrey, or of the Kings life; or who shall attempt to put violent handes upon the King; or to deprive him of his kingly power; or that by tyrannicall presumption would usurpe the Souerainnty of the Kingdome: let him bee accursed in the sight of God the Father, and of his Angels; and let him be made and declared a stranger from the Catholike Church, which hee hath profaned by his perjury, and an aliene from the companie of all Christian people; together with all the complices of his impiety: because it

behoo-



behooneth all those that bee guilty of the like offence, to vnder-lie the like punishment. Which Sentence is three severall times together, and almost in the same wordes, repeated in the same Canon. After this, the Synode desired, That this Sentence of theirs now this third time rehearsed, might bee confirmed by the voyce and consent of all that were present. Then the whole Clergy and people answered, Whosoever shall carry himselfe presumptuously against this your definitive sentence, let them be *Anathema maranatha*, that is, let them be utterly destroyed at the Lords comming, and let them and their complices haue their portion with Iudas Iscarioth. Amen.

a Concil. Tolet.  
5. Cap. 7. anno  
636.

b Symd. Tole-  
tan. 4. vniue-  
rsali, & magna  
Synodus dicta,  
Syn Tol. 5. cap. 2

And in the fifth<sup>a</sup> Councell, there it is decreed, That this Acte touching the Oath of Allegiance, shall bee repeated in euery Councell of the Bishops of Spaine. The Decree is in these wordes: In consideration that the minds of men are easily inclined to euill and forgetfulnesse, therefore this most holy Synode hath ordeined; and doeth enact, That in euery Councell of the Bishops of Spaine, the Decree of the generall<sup>b</sup> Councell which was made for the safety of our Princes, shall bee with

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## the Oath of Allegiance.

55

an audible voyce proclaimed and pronounced, after the conclusion of all other things in the Synode: that so it being often sounded into their eares, at least by continuall remembrance, the mindes of wicked men being terrified might bee reformed, which by obliuion and facility [to euil] are brought to preuaricate.

And in the sixt<sup>a</sup> Councell, Wee doe protest before God, and all the orders of Angels, in the presence of the Prophets and Apostles, and all the company of Martyrs, and before all the Catholike Church, and assemblies of the Christians; That no man shall goe about to seeke the destruction of the King: No man shall touch the life of the Prince; No man shall deprive him of the Kingdome; No man by any tyrannicall presumption shall vsurpe to himselfe the soueraignty of the Kingdome; No man by any Machination shall in his aduersity associate to himselfe any packe of conspirators against him; And that if any of vs shall be presumptuous by rashnes in any of these cases, let him be stricken with the anathema of God, and reputed as condemned in eternall iudgement without any hope of recouery.

And in the tenth<sup>b</sup> Councell (to omit diuers

<sup>a</sup> Concil. Tolet.  
6. Can. 18. anno  
638.

<sup>b</sup> Concil. Tolet.  
10. Can. 3.  
A. E. 694.



uers others held also at Toledo) it is said: That if any religious man, even from the Bishop to the lowest Order of the Church men or Monkes shall bee found to have violated the generall Oathes made for the preservation of the Kings person, or of the nation and Countrey with a profane mind; forthwith let him bee deprived of all dignity, and excluded from all place and honour. The occasion of the Decrees made for this Oath, was, That the Christians were suspected for want of fidelity to their Kings; and did either equivocate in taking their Oath, or make no conscience to keepe it, when they had given it: as may appeare by sundry speeches in the<sup>a</sup> Councell, saying, There is a generall report, that there is that perfidiousnes in the mindes of many people of diuers Nations, that they make no conscience to keepe the Oath and fidelitie, that they haue sworne unto their Kings: but doe dissemble a profession of fidelity in their mouthes, when they hold an impious perfidiousnes in their minds. And<sup>b</sup> againe, They sweare to their Kings, and yet doe they prevaricate in the fidelity which they haue promised: Neither do they feare the vohane of Gods iudgement,

<sup>a</sup> Concil. To-  
letan. 4. cap. 74.

<sup>b</sup> Concil. To-  
letan. 4. cap. 74.



ment, by the which the curse of God is brought upon them, with great threatning of punishments, which doe sweare lyingly in the Name of God. To the like effect spake they in the Council of Aquisgram. If any of the Bishops, or other Church-man of inferiour degree, hereafter thorow feare or couetousnes, or any other perswasion, shall make defection from our Lord the Orthodoxe Emperour Lodowicke, or shall violate the Oath of fidelitie made onto him, or shall with their peruerse intention adbere to his enemies; let him by this Canonickall and Synodall sentence be deprived of whatsoeuer place hee is possessed of.

And now to come to a particular answer of his letter. First as concerning the sweete memory hee hath of his old acquaintance with the Arch-priest; it may indeed be pleasing for him to recount: but sure I am, his acquaintance with him and the rest of his societie, our Fugitiues (whereof he also vanteeth himselfe in his preface to the Reader in his booke of Controuerfies) hath prooued fowre to vs and our State. For some of such Priests and Iesuits, as were the greatest Trai-

tion

H

tours

Campio  
et  
ai  
a  
quisgram.  
Ludon. Pio.  
Greg. 4. Can.  
12. anno 836.



Campion and  
Hart. See the  
conference in  
the Tower.

in. mart. sup  
D. i. p. 102  
m. 2. p. 102  
D. 8. 102. 103

toys and formenters of the greatest conspi-  
racies against the late Queene, gaue vp ta-  
ther *Robert Bellarmine* for one of their grea-  
test authorities and oracles. And therefore  
I doe not enuie the great honour he can win,  
by his vaunt of his inward familiaritie with  
an other Princes traitours and fugitiues:  
whom vnto if hee teach no better maners  
then hitherto he hath done, I thinke his fel-  
lowship are little beholding vnto him.

And for desiring him to remember him  
in his prayers at the altar of the Lord: if the  
Arch-priests prayers prooue no more profi-  
table to his soule, then *Bellarmines* counsell is  
like to prooue profitable, both to the soule  
and body of *Blackwell* (if hee would follow  
it) the authour of this letter might very well  
be without his prayers.

Now the first messenger that I can finde,  
which brought ioyfull newes of the Arche-  
priest to *Bellarmino*, was he that brought the  
newes of the Archpriests taking, and first  
appearance of Martyrdome. A great signe  
surely of the Cardinals mortification, that he  
was so reioyced to heare of the apprehen-  
sion,



sion, imprisonment and appearance of putting to death of so old and deare a friend of his. But yet apparantly he should first haue bene sure, that he was onely to be punished for cause of Religion, before he had so triumphed vpon the expectation of his Martyrdome. For first, by what rule of charitie was it lawfull for him to iudge me a persecutour, before prooffe had bene made of it by the said Arch-priestes condemnation and death? What could he know, that the said Arch-priest was not taken vpon suspicion of his guiltinesse in the Powder-Treason? What certaine information had he then receiued vpon the particulars, whereupon he was to be accused? And last of all, by what inspiration could he foretell whereupon he was to be accused? For at that time there was yet nothing layed to his charge. And if charitie should not be suspicious, what warrant had he absolutely to condemne me of vsing persecution and tyrannie, which could not but be implied vpon me, if *Blackwel* was to be a Martyr? But surely it may iustly be said of *Bellarmino* in this case, that our Sauiour

The Cardinals Charitie.

H 2

CHRIST



a Matth. 5. 43.

the Cardinal's  
charitie

CHRIST saith of all worldly and carnall men, who thinke it ynough to loue their friends and hate their enemies; the limits of the Cardinals charitie extending no farther, then to them of his owne profession. For what euer he added in superfluous charitie to *Blackwell*, in reioycing in the speculation of his future Martyrdome; he detracted as much vniustly and vncharitably from me, in accounting of me thereby as of a bloody Persecutour. And whereas this ioy of his was interrupted by the next messenger, that brought the newes of the said Arch-priest his failing in his constancie, by taking of this Oath; he needed neuer to haue bene troubled, either with his former ioy or his second sorrow, both being alike falsly grounded. For as it was neuer my intention to lay any thing vnto the said Arch-priests charge, as I haue neuer done to any, for cause of conscience; so was *Blackwells* constancie neuer brangled by taking of this Oath; It being a thing which he euer thought lawfull before his apprehension, and whereunto he perswaded all Catholikes to giue obedience;

CHRIST

a H

like



like as after his apprehension, he neuer made doubt nor stop in it; but at the first offering it vnto him, did freely take it, as a thing most lawfull; neither meanes of threatening or flatterie being euer vsed vnto him, as himselfe can yet beare witnesse.

And as for the temperature and modification of this Oath; except that a reasonable and lawfull matter is there set downe in reasonable & temperate words, agreeing thereunto: I know not what he can meane, by quarelling it for that fault. For no temperatnes nor modifications in words therein, can iustly be called the Deuils craft: when the thing it selfe is so plaine, and so plainly interpreted to all them that take it; as the onely troublesome thing in it all, be the wordes vsed in the end thereof, for eschewing *equivocation* and *mentall reseruatiō*. Which new Catholique doctrine, may farre iustlier be called the Deuils craft, then any plaine and temperate wordes, in so plaine and cleare a matter. But what shal we say of these strange countrey clownes, whom of with the *Satyre* we may iustly complaine, that they blow



a Math. II.  
17.

both hote and cold out of one mouth? For *Luther* and all our bold and free speaking writers are mightily railed vpon by them, as hot brained fellowes, and speakers by the Devils instinct: and now if we speake moderately and temperatly of them, it must be termed the Devils craft. And therefore we may iustly complaine with CHRIST, that when we<sup>a</sup> mourne, they will not lament: and when we pipe, they will not dance. But neither *John Baptist* his seueritie, nor CHRIST his meekenesse and lenitie can please them, who build but to their owne Monarchie vpon the ground of their owne Traditions; and not to CHRIST vpon the ground of his Word and infallible trueth.

But what can be meant by alleadging, that the craft of the Deuill herein, is onely vsed for subuersion of the Catholike faith, and euersion of *S. Peters* Primacie; had need bee commented anew by *Bellarmino* himselfe. For in all this letter of his, neuer one word is vsed, to prooue that by any part of this Oath the primacie of *S. Peter* is any way medled with, except Master *Bellarmino* his  
bare



bare alledging ; which without prouing it by more cleare demonstration , can neuer satisfie the conscience of any reasonable man. For (for ought that I know) heauen and earth are no farther asunder , then the profession of a temporall obedience to a temporall King, is different from any thing belonging to the Catholike faith, or Supremacie of S. *Peter*. For as for the Catholike faith ; can there bee one word found in all that Oath, tending or sounding to matter of Religion ? Doeth he that taketh it, promise there to beleue , or not to beleue any article of Religion ? Or doeth he so much as name a true or a false Church there ? And as for S. *Peters* Primacie ; I know no Apostles name that is therein named, except the name of I A M E S, it being my Christen name : though it please him not to deigne to name me in all the Letter, albeit the contents thereof concerne me in the highest degree. Neither is there any mention at all made therein, either *disertis verbis*, or by any other indirect meanes, either of the Hierarchie of the Church, of S. *Peters* succession, of the Sea Apostolike, or of any

No decision  
of any point  
of Religion  
in the Oath  
of Allegiance.



any such matter: but that the Author of our letter doeth brauely make mention of S. *Peters* succession, bringing it in comparison with the succession of *Henry* the eight. Of which vnapt and vnmanerly similitude, I wonder hee should not be much ashamed. For as to King *Henries* successor ( which he meaneth by me ) as I, I say, neuer did, nor will presume to create any article of Faith, or to bee Iudge thereof; but to submit my exemplary obedience vnto them, in as great humility as the meanest of the land: so if the Pope could bee as well able to proue his either Personall or Doctrinall succession from S. *Peter*, as I am able to prooue my lineall descent from the Kings of *England* and *Scotland*; there had neuer been so long adoe, nor so much sturre kept about this question in Christendome; neither had <sup>a</sup> M. *Bellar- mine* himselfe needed to haue bestowed so many sheetes of paper *De summo Pontifice*, in his great bookes of Controuersies: and when all is done, to conclude with a morall certitude, and a *piè credendum*: bringing in the <sup>b</sup> Popes, that are parties in this cause, to bee his

<sup>a</sup> Bellar. de  
Rom. Pont. lib.  
4. cap. 6.  
Ibid. lib. 2. cap.  
12.

<sup>b</sup> Idem. ibidem.  
lib. 2. cap. 14.



his witnesses: and yet their historicall narration must be no article of Faith. And I am without vanterie sure, that I doe farre more neerely imitate the worthy actions of my Predecessors, then the Popes in our age can be well proued to be *similes Petro*, especially in cursing of Kings, and setting free their Subiects from their Allegiance vnto them.

But now we come to his strongest argument; which is, That he would alledge vpon me a Panick terrour, as if I were possessed with a needlesse feare. For, saith the Cardinall, *from the beginning of the Churches first infancie, euen to this day, where was it euer heard, that euer a Pope either commanded to be killed, or allowed the slaughter of any Prince whatsoeuer, whether he were an Heretike, an Ethnike or Persecutor?* But first, wherefore doeth he here wilfully, and of purpose omit the rest of the points mentioned in that Oath, for deposing, degrading, stirring vp of armes or rebelling against them, which are as well mentioned in that Oath, as the killing of them? as being all of one consequence against a King, no Subiect being so scrupulous,

The Cardinals weightiest Argument.



*a Bellar. de  
Rom. Pont. lib.  
5. cap. 8. & lib.  
3. cap. 16.*

lous, as that hee will attempt the one, and leaue the other vnperformed if he can. And yet surely I cannot blame him for passing it ouer, since he could not otherwise haue eschewed the direct belying of himselfe in tearmes, which he now doeth but in substance and effect. For <sup>a</sup> as for the *Popes* deposing and degrading of Kings, he maketh so braue vaunts and bragges of it in his former Bookes, as he could neuer with ciuil honesty haue denied it here.

*b Gotfrid. Vi-  
terb. Helmod.  
Cuspinian.  
c Paschal. 2.*

But to returne to the *Popes* allowing of killing of Kings, I know not with what face he can set so stout a deniall vpon it against his owne knowledge. How many Emperors did the *Pope* raise warre against in their owne bowels? Who as they were overcome in battaile, were subiect to haue bene killed therein; which I hope the *Pope* could not but haue allowed, when he was so farre enraged at <sup>b</sup> *Henry* the fifth for giuing buriall to his fathers dead corps, after the <sup>c</sup> *Pope* had stirred him vp to rebell against his father, and procured his ruine. But leauing these old Histories to *Bellarmines* owne Bookes, that



that doe most authentically cite them, as I haue already said; let vs turne our eyes vpon our owne time, and therein remember what a Panegyrike<sup>a</sup> oration was made by the *Pope*, in praise and approbation of the Frier and his fact, that murthered king *Henry* the third of *France*, who was so farre from either being Heretike, Ethnike or Persecutor in their account, that the said *Popes* owne wordes in that oration are, *That a true Frier hath killed a counterfeit Frier.* And besides that vehement oration and congratulation for that fact; how neere it scaped, that the said Frier was not canonized for that glorious acte, is better knowne to *Bellarmino* and his followers, then to vs here. But sure I am, if some Cardinals had not bene more wise and circumspect in that errand, then the *Pope* himselfe was, the *Popes* owne Kalender of his Saints would haue sufficiently proued *Bellarmino* a lyar in this case.

And to draw yet neerer vnto our selues; how many practises & attempts were made against the late *Queenes* life, which were directly inioyned to those *Traitours* by their

a See the Oration of *Sixtus Quintus*, made in the Consistorie vpon the death of *Henry* the third,



Confessors, and plainly authorized by the *Popes* allowance? For verification whereof, there needes no more prooffe, then that neuer *Pope* either then or since, called any Church-man in question for meddling in those treasonable conspiracies; nay, the Cardinals owne *S. Sanderus* mentioned in his letter could well verifie this trueth, if he were aliue; and who will looke his bookes, will find them filled with no other doctrine then this. And what difference there is, betweene the killing or allowing the slaughter of Kings, and the stirring vp and approbation of practises to kil them; I remit to *Bellarmines* owne iudgement. It may then very clearely appeare, how strangely this Authors passion hath made him forget himselfe, by implicating himselfe in so strong a contradiction against his owne knowledge and conscience, against the witnesse of his former bookes, and against the practise of our owne times. But who can wonder at this contradiction of himselfe in this point, when his owne great Volumes are so filled with contradictions? which when either he, or any other



ther shall euer be able to reconcile, I wil then beleue that he may easily reconcile this impudent strong deniall of his in his letter, of any *Popes* meddling against Kings, with his owne former bookes, as I haue already said.

And that I may not seeme to imitate him in affirming boldly that which I no wayes proue; I will therefore send the Reader to looke for witnesses of his contradictions, in such places heere mentioned in his owne booke. In his books of <sup>a</sup> Iustification, there he affirmeth, *That for the vncertaintie of our owne proper righteousness, and for auoiding of vaine glory, it is most sure and safe, to repose our whole confidence in the alone mercie and goodnes of God;* <sup>b</sup> Which proposition of his, is directly contrary to the discourse, and current of all his five bookes *de Iustificatione*, wherein the same is conteined.

<sup>a</sup> Bellar. de Iustif. lib. 5. cap. 7.

<sup>b</sup> Contrary to all his 5. bookes de Iustificatione.

*God doeth not incline a man to euill, either* <sup>c</sup> *naturally or morally.*

<sup>c</sup> Bellar. de amf. gra. & stat. pecca. lib. 2. cap. 13.

Presently after, he affirmeth the contrary, *That God doeth not encline to euill naturally, but* <sup>d</sup> *morally.*

<sup>d</sup> Ibidem paulo post.

All the Fathers teach constantly, *That*



e Bellar. de cle-  
ricis lib. 1. cap.  
14.

f Bellar. de  
Pont. lib. 4. cap.  
25.

g Bellar. de  
Pont. lib. 1. cap.  
12.

h Bellar. de  
Iustif. lib. 3. cap.  
14.

i Bellar. de gra.  
et lib. arbit. lib.  
5. cap. 5.

k Eodem lib.  
cap. 9.

l Bell. de Pont.  
lib. 4. cap. 3.

m Bell. de Iustif.  
lib. 3. cap. 14.

n Bell. de Rom.  
Pontif. lib. 3.  
cap. 14.

e Bishops doe succede the Apostles, and Priests  
the seuentie disciples.

Elsewhere he affirmeth the contrary, That  
f Bishops doe not properly succeed the Apostles.  
That g Iudas did not beleue.

Contrary, That h Iudas was iust and cer-  
tainly good.

The keeping of the i Law according to the  
substance of the worke, doth require that the  
Commandement be so kept, that sinne be not com-  
mitted, and the man be not guiltie for hauing not  
kept the Commandement.

Contrary, k It is to be knowen, that it is not  
all one, to doe a good morall worke, and to keepe  
the Commandement according to the substance  
of the worke. For the Commandement may be  
kept according to the substance of the worke,  
euen with sinne; as if one should restore to his  
friend the thing committed to him of trust, to  
the ende that theeues might afterward take it  
from him.

l Peter did not loose that faith, whereby the  
heart beleueth vnto iustification.

Contrary, m Peters sinne was deadly.

n Antichrist shall be a Magician, and after  
the



# the Oath of Allegiance.

71

the maner of other Magicians shall secretly worship the Deuill.

o Contrary, He shall not admit of idolatrie: he shall hate idoles, and reedifie the Temple.

By the wordes of P Consecration the true and solemne oblation is made.

Contrary, The sacrifice doeth not consist in the wordes: but in the oblation of the thing it selfe.

r That the ende of the world cannot be knowne.

f Contrary, After the death of Antichrist, there shall be but five and fourtie dayes till the ende of the world.

t That the tenne Kings shall burne the scarlet Whoore, that is, Rome.

u Contrary, Antichrist shall hate Rome, and fight against it, and burne it.

x The name of vniuersall Bishop may be vnderstood two wayes; one way, that he which is said to be vniuersal Bishop, may be thought to be the onely Bishop of all Christian Cities; so that all others are not indeed Bishops, but onely Vicars to him, who is called vniuersal Bishop: in which sense, the Pope is not vniuersall Bishop.

Contrary,

o Ibid. ex sentent. Hypol. & Cyril. & cap. 12 eiusdem libri.

p Bellar. lib. 1. de missa, cap. 27.

q Bellar. de miss. lib. 2. cap. 12.

r Bellar. de anim. Christ. lib. 4. cap. 5.

s Bellar. de Pont. lib. 3. cap. 17.

t Bellar. de Pont. lib. 3. cap. 13.

u Bellar. ibid.

x Bellar. de Pont. lib. 2. cap. 31.



y Bellar. de  
Pont. lib. 4.  
cap. 24.

Contrary, *All ordinary Jurisdiction of Bishops doeth descend immediatly from the Pope; and is in him, and from him is deriued to others.* Which few places I haue onely selected amongst many the like, that the discreet and iudicious Reader may discern *ex vngue Leonem*. For when euer hee is pressed with a weighty obiection, he neuer careth, nor remembreth how his solution and answere to that, may make him gaine say his owne doctrine in some other places, so it serue him for a shift to put off the present storme withall.

But now to returne to our matter againe: Since Popes, saith he, haue neuer at any time medled against Kings, wherefore, I pray you, should onely the King of England be afraid of that, whereof neuer Christian King is, or was afraid? Was neuer Christian Emperour or King afraid of the Popes? How then were these miserable Emperours tost and turmoiled, and in the end vterly ruined by the Popes: for prooffe whereof, I haue already cited *Bellarmines* owne bookes? Was not the <sup>a</sup> Emperour afraid, who <sup>b</sup> waited barefooted

<sup>a</sup> Henry 4.  
<sup>b</sup> Abbas  
Vrspergen.  
Lamb. Scaffn.  
Anno 1077.  
Plat. in vis.  
Greg. 7.



tooted in the frost and snow three dayes at  
the Popes gate, before he could get entrie?  
Was not the <sup>c</sup> Emperour also afraide, <sup>d</sup> who  
was driuen to lie agroose on his belly, and  
suffer another *Pope* to tread vpon his necke?  
And was not another <sup>e</sup> Emperour afraide,  
<sup>f</sup> who was constrained in like manner to in-  
dure a third *Pope* to beat off from his head  
the Imperiall Crowne with his foote? Was  
not <sup>g</sup> *Philip* afraid, being made Emperour a-  
gainst *Pope Innocentius* the thirds good li-  
king, when he brake out into these wordes,  
*Either the Pope shall take the Crowne from Phi-  
lip, or Philip shal take the Miter from the Pope?*  
whereupon the *Pope* stirred vp *Ottbo* against  
him, who caused him to be slaine; and pre-  
sently went to *Rome*, and was crowned Em-  
perour by the *Pope*, though afterward the  
*Pope* <sup>h</sup> deposed him too. Was not the Em-  
perour <sup>i</sup> *Fredericke* afraide, when *Innocentius*  
the fourth excommunicated him, depriued  
him of his crowne, absolued Princes of their  
Oath of fidelitie to him, and in *Apulia* cor-  
rupted one to giue him poison? whereof the  
Emperour recouering, hee hired his bastard

K

Somme

<sup>c</sup> Frederick  
Barbarossa.  
<sup>d</sup> Naucley, ge-  
ner. 40. Iacob.  
Bergom in Sup-  
plem. chron. Al-  
fons. Ciacon, in  
vit. Alex. 3.  
<sup>e</sup> Henry 6.  
<sup>f</sup> R. Houeden  
in Rich. 1.  
Ranulph in  
Polychronico.  
lib. 7.  
<sup>g</sup> Abbas V. s. per.  
ad Ann. 1191.  
Nau. gen. 40.  
Cuspin, in Phi-  
lippe.

<sup>h</sup> Abbas V. s. per.  
<sup>i</sup> Matth. Paris.  
in Henr. 3.  
Petrus de Vi-  
neis Epist. lib. 1.  
C. 2. C. Cuspin.  
in Freder. 2.



*k Vita Frederici Germanice conscripta.*

*l Frederick Barbarossa.*

*m Paul. Iovius Histor. lib. 2. Cuspinian. in Bajazet. 11. Guicciard. lib. 2.*

*n Houeden pag. 308. Matth. Paris. in Henric. 11. Walsingh. in Hypodig. Neustriae. Ioan. Capgrau.*

*o Gomecius de rebus gest. Fran. Ximenij. Archiepif. Tolet. lib. 5.*

Sonne *Manfredus* to poyson him; whereof he died. What did *k Alexander* the third write to the *Soldan*? That if he would liue quietly, he should by some slight murder the *l Emperour*; and to that end sent him the Emperours picture. And did not *m Alexander* the sixt take of the Turke *Bajazetes* two hundred thousand crownes to kill his brother *Gemen*; or as some call him, *Sifimus*, whom hee held captiue at *Rome*? Did hee not accept of the conditions to poyson the man, and had his pay? Was not our *n Henry* the second afraide after the slaughter of *Thomas Becket*; that besides his going barefooted in Pilgrimage, was whipped vp and downe the Chapter-house like a schoole-boy, and glad to escape so too? Had not this French King his great grandfather King *Iohn* reason to bee afraide, when the *o Pope* gaue away his kingdome of *Navarre* to the King of *Spaine*, whereof he yet possesseth the best halfe? Had not this King, his Successour reason to be afraid, when he was forced to begge so submissiuelly the relaxation of his Excommunication, as he was content



tent likewise to suffer his Ambassadour to be whipped at *Rome* for penance? And had not the late Queene reason to looke to herselfe, when she was excommunicated by *Pius Quintus*, her Subiects loosed from their fidelitie and Allegiance towards her, her Kingdome of *Ireland* giuen to the King of *Spaine*; and that famous fugitiue diuine, honoured with the like degree of a red hat as *Bellarmino* is, was not ashamed to publish in print an <sup>a</sup> Apologie for *Stanlies* treason; maintaining, that by reason of her excommunication and heresie, it was not onely lawfull for any of her Subiects, but euen they were bound in conscience to depriue her of any strength, which lay in their power to doe? And whether it were armies, townes, or fortresses of hers which they had in their hands, they were obliged to put them in the King of *Spaine* her enemies hands, she no more being the right owner of any thing? But albeit it be true, that wise men are moued by the examples of others dangers to vse prouidence and caution, according to the olde prouerbe, *Tum tua res agitur, paries cum proxi-*

<sup>a</sup> Card. Allen's answer to *Stan.* let. Anno 1587.



*mus ardet* : yet was I much neererliet summoned to vse this caution, by the practise of it in mine owne Person.

First, by the sending forth of these *Bulles*, whereof I made mention already, for debarring me from entrie vnto this Crowne and Kingdome. And next, after my entrie and full possession thereof, by the horrible *Powder-treason*, which should haue bereft both me and mine both of crowne and life. And howsoever the *Pope* will seeme to cleare himselfe of any allowance of the said *Powder-treason*; yet can it not be denied, that his principal ministers here, and his chiefe *Municipia* the Iesuites, were the plaine practisers thereof; for which the principall of them hath died confessing it, and others haue fled the countrey for the crime; yea, some of them gone into *Italy*; and yet neither these that fled out of this countrey for it, nor yet *Baldwine*, who though he then remained in the Low-countreys, was of counsell in it, were euer called to account for it by the *Pope*; much lesse punished for medling in so scandalous and enormous businesse.

And



And now what needs so great wonder and exclamation, that *the onely King of England feareth*: And *what other Christian King doeth, or euer did feare but he*? As if by the force of his rhetoricke, hee could make me and my good Subiects to mistrust our senses, deny the Sunne to shine at midday, and not with the serpent to stop our eares to his charming, but to the plaine and visible veritie it selfe. And yet for all this wonder, hee can neuer proue me to be troubled with such a Panicke terrour. Haue I euer importuned the *Pope* with any request for my securitie? Or haue I either troubled other Christian Princes my friends and allies, to intreat for mee at the *Popes* hand? Or yet haue I begged frō them any aide or assistance for my farther securitie? No. All this wondered-at feare of mine stretcheth no further, then wisely to make distinction betweene the sheepe and goates in my owne pasture. For since, what euer the *Popes* part hath bene in the *Powder-treason*; yet certaine it is, that all these caitife monsters did to their death maintaine, that onely zeale of Religion moued them to that  
K 3                      horrible



horrible attempt: yea, some of them at their death, would not craue pardon at God or King for their offence; exhorting other of their followers to the like constancie. Had not we then and our Parliament great reason, by this Oath to set a marke of distinction betweene good Subiects and bad? Yea, betweene Papists, though peradventure zealous in their religion, yet otherwise ciuilly honest and good Subiects, and such terrible firebrands of hell, as would maintaine the like maximes which these Powder-men did? Nay, could there be a more gracious part in a King, suppose I say it, towards Subiects of a contrary religion, then by making them to take this Oath, to publish their honest fidelitie in temporall things to mee their Soueraigne, and thereby to wipe off that imputation and great slander, which was layd vpon the whole professors of that religion, by the furious enterprise of these Powder-men?

*a Nazianzenus in Iulian.  
inuestinâ primâ.*

And whereas for illustration of this strong argument of his, he hath brought in for a similitude the history of *a Iulian the Apostata*, his dealing with the Christians, when as he



he straited them, ether to commit idolatrie, or to come within the compasse of treason: I would wish the author to remember, that although a similitude may bee permitted *claudicare uno pede*, yet this was a very ill chosen similitude, which is lame both of feet and handes and euery member of the body. For I shall in few words prooue, that it agreeth in no one point, saue one, with our purpose; which is, that *Iulian* was an Emperour, and I a King. First, *Iulian* was an *Apostata*, one that had renounced the whole Christian faith which hee had once professed, and became an Ethnike againe, or rather an Atheist: whereas I am a Christian, who neuer changed that Religion, that I dranke in with my milke; nor euer, I thanke God, was ashamed of my profession. *Iulian* dealt against Christians, onely for the profession of Christes cause: I deale in this case with my Subiectes, onely to make a distinction betweene true Subiects and false-hearted Traitors. *Iulians* end was the ouerthrow of the Christians: my onely end is, to maintaine Christianitie in a peaceable Go-  
uerne-

The disproportion of the Cardinals similitude.



uernement. *Iulians* drift was to make them commit idolatrie: my purpose is, to cause my Subiects to make open profession of their naturall Allegiance and ciuill obedience. *Iulians* meanes whereby he went about it, was by craft and insnaring them before they were aware: my course in this is plaine, cleare and voyd of all obscuritie; neuer refusing leaue to any that are required to take this Oath, to study it at leisure, and giuing them all the interpretation of it they can craue. But the greatest dissimilitude of all, is in this; that *Iulian* pressed them to commit idolatrie to idoles and images: but as well I, as all the Subiects of my profession are so farre from guilt in this point, as wee are counted Heretiques by you, because we will not commit idolatrie. So as, in the maine point of all, is the greatest contrarietie. For, *Iulian* persecuted the Christians because they would not commit idolatrie: and ye count me a Persecutour, because I will not admit idolatrie. So as to conclude this point, this olde sentence may well bee applied to *Bel-larmine*, in vsing so vnapt a Similitude;  
*Perdere*



*Perdere quos vult Iupiter, hos dementat.*

And therefore his vncharitable Conclufion doeth not rightly follow: *That it seemeth vnto him, that some such thing should be subtilly or fraudulently included in this Oath;* as if no man can detest Treason against the King, or professe ciuill Subiection, except hee renounce the Primacie of the Apostolike See. But how hee hath suckt this apprehension out at his fingers ends, I cannot imagine: for sure I am (as I haue oft said) hee neuer goeth about to proue it: and to answere an improbable imagination, is to fight against a vanishing shadow. It cannot bee denied indeed, that many seruants of CHRIST, as wel Priests as others, haue endured constantly all sorts of torments and death for the profession of CHRIST: and therefore to all such his examples as he bringeth in for verifying the same, I need not to giue him any other answere, saue onely to remember him that hee playeth the part of a Sophister; in all these his examples of the constancie of Martyrs: euer taking *Controuersum pro confesso*, as if this our case were of the same nature.

L

But



But yet that the Reader may the better discover, not onely how vnaply his similitudes are applied, but likewise how dishonestly hee vseth himselfe in all his citations; I haue thought good to set downe the very places themselues cited by him, together with a short deduction of the true state of those particular cases: whereby how little these examples can touch our case; nay, by the contrary, how rightly their true sense may bee vsed, as our owne weapons to be throwen backe vpon him that alleadgeth them, shall easily appeare. And first for <sup>a</sup> *Eleazar*: If the Arch-priest his ground of refusing the Oath were as good as *Eleazars* was to forbear to eate the swines flesh, it might not vnfitly bee applied by the Cardinall to this purpose. For as *Eleazar* was a principall Scribe, so is hee a principall Priest: As *Eleazars* example had a great force in it to animate the yonger Scribes to keepe the Law, or in his colourable eating it to haue taught them to dissemble; so hath the Arch-priests, either to make the inferiour Priests to take the Oath, or to refuse it: but the ground failing,

<sup>a</sup> 2. *Marchabers* cap. 6. verse 18.

An answer to the Cardinals example of *Eleazar*.



failing, the building cannot stand. For what example is there in al the Scripture, in which disobedience to the Oath of the King, or want of Allegiance is allowed? If the Cardinall would remember, that when the Church maketh a Law (suppose to forbid flesh on certaine dayes) he that refuseth to obey it, incurreth the iust censure of the Church: If a man then ought to die rather then to breake the least of Gods Ceremoniall Lawes, and to pine and starue his body, rather then to violate the Church his positiue law: will hee not giue leaue to a man to redeeme his soule from sinne, and to keepe his body from punishment, by keeping a Kings politique law, and by giuing good example in his person, raise vp a good opinion in me of like Allegiance in the inferiours of his order? This application (as I take it) would haue better fitted this example.

But let me remember the Cardinall of another<sup>a</sup> Oath inioyned by a King to his people, whereby hee indangered his owne life, and hazarded the safety of the whole armie, when hee made the people sweare in the

L 2

morning,

<sup>a</sup> 1. Sam. 14.

25.



*a 2. Macha-  
bers cap. 6. verse  
18.*

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morning not to taste of any meate vntill night : which Oath hee exacted so strictly, that his eldest Sonne and heire apparant, *Ionathan* for breaking of it, by tasting a little hony of the top of his rod, though he heard not when the King gaue that Oath, had well nigh died for it. And shall an Oath giuen vpon so vrgent an occasion as this was, for the apparant safety of me and my posterity, forbidding my people to drinke so deeply in the bitter cup of Antichristian fornications, but that they may keepe so much hony in their hearts, as may argue them still espoused to me their Soueraign in the maine knot of true Allegiance; shal this Law, I say, by him be condemned to hel for a *stratageme of Sathan*? I say no more, but GODS lot in that Oath of *Sauls*, and *Bellarmines* verdict vpon this Oath of ours, seeme not to be cast out of one lap.

a *Theodorit.*  
lib. 4. cap. 19.

An answer  
to the Card.  
example of S.  
Basil.

Now to his example of a *Basil*, which is (as hee sayth) so fit for his purpose. First I must obserue, that if the Cardinall would leaue a common and ordinary tricke of his in all his citations, which is, to take what  
makes



makes for him, and leaue out what makes against him, and cite the Authours sense, as well as his sentence: wee should not bee so much troubled with answering the Ancient which he alleadgeth. To instance it in this very place: if he had continued his allegation one line further, he should haue found this place out of *Theodoret*, of more force to haue moued *Blackwel* to take the Oth, then to haue dissuaded him from it. For in the very next wordes it followeth: *Imperatoris quidem amicitiam magni se pēdere cum pietate; quā remotā, perniciosam esse dicere*. But that it may appeare, whether of vs haue greatest right to this place, I will in few wordes shew the Authours drift.

The Emperour *Valens* being an Arrian, at the perswasion of his wife, when hee had depriued all the Churches of their Pastours, came to *Cesarea*, where <sup>a</sup> *S. Basill* was then Bishop; who, as the history reporteth, was accounted the *Light of the world*. Before he came, he sent his <sup>b</sup> Deputy to work it, that *S. Basil* should hold fellowship with *Eudoxius* (which <sup>c</sup> *Eudoxius* was bishop of *Constantinople*.)

<sup>a</sup> *Theodoret.*  
*lib. 4. cap. 19.*  
<sup>b</sup> *Modestus* as  
*Naxianzen* vp  
on the death  
of *Basil* calleth  
him in his  
oration.  
<sup>c</sup> *Looke cap.*  
*12. eiusdem*  
*libri.*



*tinople*, and the principall of the Arrian faction) or if he would not, that he should put him to banishment. Now when the Emperours Deputie came to *Casarea*, he sent for *Basill*, intreated him honourably, spake pleasantly vnto him, desired he would giue way to the time, neither that he would hazard the good of so many Churches *tenui exquisi-  
tione dogmatis*; promised him the Emperours fauour, and himselfe to be mediatour for his good. But *S. Basill* answered, *These intising  
speeches were fit to be vsed to children, that use  
to gape after such things: but for them that were  
thoroughly instructed in Gods word, they could  
neuer suffer any syllable thereof to be corrupted.  
Nay, if need required, they would for the main-  
tenance thereof, refuse no kinde of death. In-  
deed the loue of the Emperour ought to be great-  
ly esteemed with pietie; but pietie taken away, it  
was pernicious.*

This is the truth of the history. Now compare the case of *Basill* with the Arch-priests: *Basill* was solicited to become an Arrian: the Arch-priest not once touched for any Article of faith. *Basill* would haue obeyed the



the Emperour, but that the word of GOD forbade him: this man is willed to obey, because the word of GOD commandeth him. *Basil* highly esteemed the Emperours favour, if it might haue stood with pietie: the Arch-priest is exhorted to reiect it, though it stand with true godlinesse in deed to embrace it. But that he may lay load vpon the Arch-priest, it is not sufficient to exhort him to courage and constancie by *Eleazars* and *Basils* examples; but he must be vtterly cast downe with the comparing his fall to *S. Peters*, and *Marcellinus*: which two mens cases were the most teareful, considering their persons and places, that are to be found or read of either in all the books of diuine Scripture, or the volumes of Ecclesiasticall histories; the one denying the only true GOD, the other our Lord & Sauour IESVS CHRIST: the one sacrificing to idols, with the profane heathen; the other forswearing his Lord and Master, with the hard-hearted Iewes. Vnlesse the Cardinall would drite the Arch-priest to some horroure of conscience and pit of despaire, I know not what he can meane

The Card. as-  
similating of  
the Archpr.  
case to S. Pe-  
ters, and Mar-  
cellinus, confi-  
dered.



meane by this comparison. For sure I am, all that are not intoxicated with their cup, cannot but wonder to heare of an Oath of Allegiance to a naturall Soueraigne, to be likened to an *Apostats* denying of God, and forswearing of his Sauour.

But to let passe the *Disdiapason* of the cases (as his ill-fauoured coupling *S. Peter* the head of their Church, with an apostate Pope) I maruaile he would remember this example of <sup>a</sup> *Marcellinus*, since his brother Cardinall *Baronius*, and the late edition of the Councils by <sup>b</sup> *Binnius*; seeme to call the credit of the whole history into question: saying, *That it might plainly be refuted, and that it is probably to bee shewed that the story is but obreptitious*, but that he would not swarue from the common receiued opinion.

<sup>a</sup> Looke *Platina in vita Marcellini.*

<sup>b</sup> *Concil. Tom. 1. pag. 222. Looke Baronius Ann. 302. num. 96.*

See *Tom. 1. Council in Act. Concl. Sinues- san.*

And if a man might haue leaue to coniecture; so would his Cardinalship too, if it were not for one or two sentences in that Council of *Sinuessæ*, which serued for his purpose: namely that, *Prima sedes à nemine iudicatur*: And, *Iudica causam tuam: nostrâ sententiâ non condemnaberis*. But to what purpose



purpose a great Council (as he tearmes it) of three hundred Bishops and others, should meet together, who before they met, knew they could doe nothing; when they were there, did nothing, but like cuckowes, sing ouer and ouer the same song: that, *Prima sedes à nemine iudicatur*: and so after three dayes sitting (a long time indeede for a great and graue Council) brake so bluntly vp: and yet that there should bee seuentie two witnesses brought against him, and that they should subscribe his excommunication, and that at his owne mouth hee tooke the *Anathema maranatha*: how these vntoward contradictions shalbe made to agree, I must send the Cardinall to *Venice* to *Padre Paulo*, who in his <sup>a</sup> Apologie against the Cardinals Oppositions hath handled them very learnedly.

But from one *Pope*, let vs passe to another: (for, what a principall article of faith and religion this Oath is, I haue already sufficiently proued) Why he called S. <sup>b</sup> *Gregory* our Apostle, I know not, vnlesse perhaps it be, for that hee sent <sup>c</sup> *Augustine* the Monke

M

and

<sup>a</sup> *Apol. Pat. Paul. aduersus opposit. Card. Bellar.*

An answer to the place alledged out of S. Gregory.

<sup>b</sup> *Greg. lib. 11. cap. 42.*

<sup>c</sup> *Beda Ecclesi. Hist. gen. Ang. lib. 1. cap. 25.*



d Bede Eccles.  
Hist. gen. Ang.  
lib. 1. cap. 4.

and others with him into *England*, to conuert vs to the faith of Christ, wherein I wish the *Popes* his successours would follow his patterne. For albeit he sent them by diuine reuelation (as hee said) into *England* vnto King *Eshelbert*; yet when they came they exercised no part of their function, but by the Kings leaue and permission. So did King *Lucius* send to *Eleutherius* his predeceffour, and hee sent him diuers Bishops, who were all placed by the Kings authoritie. These conuerted men to the faith, and taught them to obey the King. And if the *Popes* in these dayes would but insift in these steps of their forefathers; then would they not intertaine Princes fugitiues abroad, nor send them home, not onely without my leaue, but directly against the lawes, with plots of Treason and doctrine of rebellion, to draw Subiects from their obedience to mee their naturall King: nor be so cruell to their owne *Mancipia*, as returning them with these wares, put either a State in iealousie of them, or them in hazard of their owne liues. Now to our Apostle (since the Cardinall will haue him



him so called) I perswade my selfe I should doe a good seruice to the Church in this my labour, if I could but reape this one fruit of it, to moue the Cardinal to deale faithfully with the Fathers, and neuer to alleadge their opinions against their owne purpose. For, this letter of *Gregorius* was written to *Iohn* bishop of *Palermo* in *Sicily*, to whom he granted *Usum pallij*, to be worne in such times and in such order, as the Priestes in the Ile of *Sicily* and his predecessors were wont to vse: and withal giueth him a caueat; that *thereuerence to the Apostolique sea be not disturbed by the presumption of any: for then the state of the members doth remaine sound, when the head of the Faith is not bruiſed by any iniury, and the authority of the Canons alwayes remaine safe and sound.*

*Greg. lib. II.  
cap. 42.*

Now let vs examine the words. The epistle was written to a Bishop, especially to graunt him the vse of the Pall; a ceremony and matter indifferent. As it appeareth, the Bishop of *Rome* tooke it well at his hands, that hee would not presume to take it vpon him without leaue from the Apostolike Sea, giuing him that admonition which followeth in the



words alleadged out of him: which doctrine we are so farre from impugning, that we altogether approue and allow of the same, that whatsoeuer ceremonie for order is thought meete by the Christian Magistrate and the Church, the same ought inuiolably to bee kept; and where the head and gouernour in matters of that nature are not obeyed, the members of that Church must needs runne to hellish confusion. But that *Gregory* by that terme, *Caput fidei*, held himselfe the head of our faith, and the head of all religion, cannot stand with the course of his doctrine and writings. For first, when an <sup>a</sup> other would haue had this style to be called *Vniuersalis Episcopus*, he said, <sup>b</sup> *I doe confidently auouch, that whosoever calleth himselfe, or desireth to be called vniuersall Bishop, in this aduancing of himselfe, is the forerunner of the Antichrist.* Which notwithstanding was a style far inferiour to that of *Caput fidei*. And when it was offered to himselfe, the words of *S. Gregory* be these, refusing that title: <sup>c</sup> *None of my predecessors [Bishops of Rome] euer consented to use this prophane name [of vniuersall Bishop.] None of*

<sup>a</sup> Iohn of  
*Constantinople.*  
See *Greg. lib. 4.*  
*Epist. 32.*

<sup>b</sup> *Lib. 6. Epist.*  
30.

<sup>c</sup> *Greg. lib. 4.*  
*Epist. 32. &*  
36.

my



my predecessours euer tooke vpon him this name of singularitie, neither consented to vse it; We the Bishops of Rome do not seek, nor yet accept this glorious title being offered vnto vs. And now, I pray you, would he that refused to be called vniuersal Bish. be styled *Caput fidei*, vnlesse it were in that sense, as I haue expressed? which sense if he wil not admit, giue me leaue to say that of *Gregory*, which himselfe saith of<sup>a</sup> *Lyra*, *minus caute locutus est*: or which he else where saith of *Chrysostome*,<sup>b</sup> *locutus est per excessum*. To redeeme therefore our Apostle out of his hands, and to let him remaine ours, and not his in this case; it is very true that he saith, in that sense he spake it. When ye goe about to disturbe, diminish, or take away the authoritie, or supremacie of the Church, which setteth on the head of the King, within his dominions; ye cut off the head and chiefe gouernour therof, and disturbe the state and members of the whole body. And for a cōclusion of this point, I pray him to thinke, that we are so well perswaded of the good mind of our Apostle *S. Gregory* to vs, that we desire no other thing to bee suggested to the Pope and

<sup>a</sup> Bellar. de  
Rom. Pont. lib.  
2. cap. 10.  
<sup>b</sup> Idem lib. 2.  
de Missa cap. 10.



<sup>a</sup> Greg lib. 7.  
Epist. 1.

his Cardinals, then our Apostle S. Gregory desired <sup>a</sup>Sabinian to suggest vnto the Emperour and the State in his time. His words be these: *One thing there is, of which I would haue you shortly to suggest to your most noble Lord and Master: That if I his seruant would haue had my hand in slaying of the Lombards, at this day the nation of the Lombards had neither had King, nor Dukes, nor Earles, and had bin diuided asunder in vtter confusion: but because I feare God, I dread to haue my hand in the blood of any man.*

An answer  
to the autho-  
ritic out of  
Leo.

<sup>b</sup> Leo primus  
in die assump.  
sua ad Pontifi-  
cat. sermone 3.  
Leo epist. 89.  
ad Episc. Vien.  
Idem. ibid. cap.  
2.

<sup>c</sup> Cicero in  
Hort.

And thus hauing answered to S. Gregory, I come to another Pope, his Apostle, S. Leo. And that hee may see, I haue not in the former citations quarelled him like a Sophister, for cōtention sake, but for finding out of the trueth; I doe grant, that the authorities out of <sup>b</sup>Leo are rightly alledged all three, the wordes truely set downe, together with his true intent and purpose: but withall, let mee tell him, and I appeale vnto his owne conscience whether I speake not truely, that what Tullie said to <sup>c</sup>Hortensius, when he did immoderately praise eloquence, That he would haue lift her vp to heauen, that himselte might



might haue gone vp with her ; So his S. *Leo* lift vp S. *Peter* with praises to the skie, that he being his <sup>a</sup> heire , might haue gone vp with him. For his S. *Leo* was a great Orator, who by the power of his eloquence redeemed *Rome* from fire, when both <sup>b</sup> *Attilas* and *Gen- sericus* would haue burnt it.

Some fruits of this rhetorick he bestowed vpon S. *Peter*, saying, *The Lord<sup>c</sup> did take Peter into the fellowship of the indiuisible conitie :* which wordes being coupled to the sentence alleadged by the Cardinall (*that he hath no part in the diuine Mystery, that dare depart from the soliditie of Peter*) should haue giuen him, I thinke, such a scarre , as he should neuer haue dared to haue taken any aduantage by the words immediatly preceding, for the benefit of the Church of *Rome*, and the head therof; since those which immediatly folow, are so much derogatory to the diuine Ma- iestie. And againe, *My<sup>d</sup> writings be strength- ned by the authority and merit of my Lord, most blessed S. Peter. We<sup>e</sup> beseech you to keepe the things decreed by vs, through the inspiration of God, and the Apostle most blessed S. Peter. If*  
<sup>a</sup> any

<sup>a</sup> For so he calleth him- selfe in sermon. *I. in die assum.*

<sup>b</sup> *Ex breuiario Romano.*

<sup>c</sup> *Epist. 89.*

<sup>d</sup> *Epist. 52.*

<sup>e</sup> *Epist. 89.*



<sup>a</sup> In *serm. 2.*  
in *die anniver.*  
*assum. sue.*

<sup>b</sup> *Ser. 3.* in *die*  
*ann. assump.*  
*sue.*

<sup>c</sup> *Epist. 24.*  
<sup>d</sup> *Epist. 4.*

<sup>e</sup> *Concil. Chal-*  
*ced. Act. 16. &*  
*can. 28.*

<sup>a</sup> any thing be well done, or decreed by vs, If any thing bee obtained of Gods mercy by dayly prayers; it is to be ascribed to S. Peters workes and merits, whose power doth liue, and authoritie excell in his owne Sea: He<sup>b</sup> was so plentifully watered of the very fountaine of all graces, that wheras he receiued many things alone, yet nothing passeth ouer to any other, but he was partaker of it. And in a word, he was so desirous to extol S. Peter, That a message from him was an<sup>c</sup> embassage from S. Peter: <sup>d</sup>any thing done in his presence, was in S. Peters presence. Neither did he vse all this rhetorick without purpose: for at that time the Patriarch of *Constantinople* contended with him for Primacie. And in the Councel of<sup>e</sup> *Chalcedon*, the bishops fix hundred and more, gaue equall authoritie to the Patriarch of that Sea, and would not admit any priuiledge to the Sea of *Rome* aboue him; but went against him. And yet he that gaue so much to *Peter*, tooke nothing from *Cæsar*; but gaue him both his Titles and due, giuing the power of calling a Councell to the Emperour; as it may appeare by these one or two places following of many. If it  
may



may please your <sup>a</sup> godlinesse to vouchsafe at our supplication to condescend, that you wil command a Councell of Bishops to be holden within Italy. And writing vnto the Bishop of Constanti-  
nople: Because the most clement <sup>b</sup> Emperor, care-  
full of the peace of the Church, will haue a Coun-  
cell to be holden; albeit it euidently appeare, the  
matter to bee handled doeth in no case stand in  
need of a Councell. And againe, Albeit <sup>c</sup> my oc-  
casions wil not permit me to be present vpon the  
day of the Councell of Bishops, which your godli-  
nesse hath appointed. So as by this it may well  
appeare, that he that gaue so much to Peter,  
gaue also to Caesar his due and prerogatiue.  
But yet he playeth not faire play in this, that  
euen in all these his wrong applied argu-  
ments and examples, he produceth no other  
witnesses, but the parties themselues; bring-  
ing euer the Popes sentences for approbation  
of their owne authoritie.

Now indeed for one word of his in the  
middest of his examples, I cannot but greatly  
comend him; that is, that Martyrs ought to  
indure all sorts of tortures and death, before  
they suffer one syllable to be corrupted of the

N

Law

<sup>a</sup> Epist. 9.  
Theodosio.

<sup>b</sup> Epist. 16.  
Flauiano.

<sup>c</sup> Epist. 17.  
Theodosio.



*a Bellar. de sa-  
cra Eucharist.  
lib. 4. cap. 14.*

Law of God. Which lesson, if he and all the rest of his owne profession would apply to themselves, then would not the Sacrament be administred *sub vnâ specie*, directly contrary to Christes institution, the practise of the Apostles and of the whole Primitive Church for many hundred yeeres: then would not the priuate Masses be in place of the Lordes Supper: then would not the words of the <sup>a</sup> Canon of the Masse be opposed to the words of S. Paul and S. Luke, as our Aduersary himselfe confesseth, and cannot reconcile them: nor then would not so many hundreths other traditions of men be set vp in their Church, not only as equall, but euen preferred to the word of God. But sure in this point I feare I haue mistaken him: for I thinke he doth not meane by his *Diuina Dogmata*, the word of the God of heauen, but onely the Canons and Lawes of his *Dominus Deus Papa*: otherwise all his Primacie of the Apostolike Sea would not be so much sticken vpon, hauing so slender ground in the word of God.

And for the great feare he hath, that the  
suddenness



suddenness of the apprehension, the bitterness of the persecution, the weaknesse of his age, and other such infirmities might haue bene the cause of the Arch-priests fall; in this, I haue already sufficiently answered him; ha-ving declared, as the trueth is, and as the said *Blackwel* himselfe wil yet testifie, that he took this Oath freely of himselfe, without any in-ducement therunto, either *Precibus* or *Minis*.

But amongst all his citations, he must not forget holy *Sanderus* and his *visibills Monar-chia*, whose person and actions I did already a little touch. And surely who will with vn-partiall eyes read his bookes, they may well thinke, that he hath deserued wel of his Eng-lish Roman-Church; but they can neuer thinke, but that he deserued very ill of his English Soueraigne and State. Witnesse his owne books; whereout I haue made choice to set downe here these few sentences fol-  
lowing, as flowers pickt out of so worthy a garland. *Elizabeth Queene of England, doeth exercise the Priestly act of teaching and preaching the Gospel in England, with no lesse authority then Christ himself, or Moses euer did.*

Some of San-  
ders his wor-  
thy sayings  
remembered.

*a Sanderus  
lib. monarch. lib.  
6. cap. 4.*



a Sand. de clau.  
David. lib. 6.  
cap. 1.

b Sand. de vi-  
sib. Monar.  
ib. 2. cap. 4.

c Ibidem.

d Ibidem.

e Ibidem.

f Sand. de clau.  
David. lib. 5.  
cap. 2.

g Ibidem.

The supremacy of a<sup>a</sup> woman in Church matters, is from no other, then from the Deuil. And of all things in generall, thus he speaketh, The<sup>b</sup> King that wil not inthrall himselfe to the Popes authority, he ought not to be tolerated; but his Subiects ought to giue all diligence, that another may be chosen in his place assoone as may be. A King that is an<sup>c</sup> Heretike, ought to be remoued from the kingdome that he holdeth ouer Christi-ans; and the Bishops ought to endeuour to set up another, assoone as possibly they can. Wee doe constantly<sup>d</sup> affirme, that all Christian Kings are so far vnder Bishops and Priestes in all matters appertaining to faith, that if they shall continue in a fault against Christian Religion after one or two admonitions, obstinately, for that cause they may and ought to be deposed by the Bishops from their temporal authority they hold ouer Christiāns. <sup>e</sup> Bishops are set ouer temporall kingdomes, if those kingdomes do submit themselues to the faith of Chrilt. We doe iustly<sup>f</sup> affirme, that all Se-cular power, whether Regall, or any other, is of Men. The<sup>g</sup> anoynting which is powred vpon the head of the King by the Priest, doeth declare that he is inferiour to the Priest. It is altogether  
against



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against the will of a CHRIST, that Christian Kings should haue supremacie in the Church.

*c Sand. de clau.  
David lib. 7.  
cap. 4.*

The Cardi-  
nals paire of  
Martyrs  
weighed.

And whereas for the crowne and conclu-  
sion of all his examples, he reckoneth his two  
English martyrs, *Moore* and *Roffensis*, who  
died for that one most weighty head of do-  
ctrine, as he alleadgeth, refusing the Oath of  
Supremacie; I must tel him, that he hath not  
bene well informed in some materiall points,  
which doe very neerly concerne his two said  
martyrs. For it is cleare and apparantly to be  
prooued by diuers Records, that they were  
both of them committed to the Tower a-  
bout a yeere before either of them was called  
in question vpon their liues, for the *Popes* Su-  
premacie; And that partly for their back-  
wardnesse in the point of the establishment  
of the Kings succession, wherunto the whole  
Realme had subscribed, and partly for that  
one of them, to wit, *Fisher*, had had his hand  
in the matter of the holy <sup>b</sup> mayd of *Kent*, he  
being for his concealement of that false pro-  
phets abuse, found guiltie of misprision of  
treason. And as these were the principall  
causes of their imprisonment (the King re-  
sting

*b Called Eli-  
zabeth Barton.  
See the Act  
of Parlia-  
ment.*



iting secure of his Supremacie, as the Realme  
 stood then affected, but especially troubled  
 for setting the crowne vpon the issue of his se-  
 cond marriage ) so was it easily to be concei-  
 ued, that being thereupon discontented,  
 their humors were thereby made apt to draw  
 them by degrees, to further opposition a-  
 gainst the King and his authoritie, as indeed  
 it fell out. For in the time of their being in  
 prison, the Kings lawfull authoritie in cases  
 Ecclesiasticall being published and promul-  
 ged, as wel by a generall decree of the Clergie  
 in their Synode, as by an Acte of Parliament  
 made thereupon; they behaued themselves  
 so peeuishtly therein, as the old coales of the  
 Kings anger being thereby raked vp of new,  
 they were againe brought in question; as wel  
 for this one most weighty head of doctrine  
 of the *Pope* his supremacy, as for the matter  
 of the Kings marriage and succession, as by  
 the confesion of one of themselves, euen  
*Thomas Moore*, is euident. For being condem-  
 ned, he vsed these wordes at the barre before  
 the Lords, *Non ignoro cur me morti adiudicane-*  
*ritis; videlicet ob id, quod nunquam voluerim*  
*assentiri*

*Histor. aliquot*  
*Martyrum no.*  
*stri seculi, Ann.*  
*1550.*



*assentiri in negotio matrimonij Regis.* That is, I am not ignorant why you haue adiudged me to death: to wit, for that I would neuer consent in the busines of the new marriage of the King. By which his owne confession it is plaine, that this great martyr himselfe tooke the cause of his owne death, to be onely for his being refractary to the King in this said matter of Marriage and succession; which is but a very fleshly cause of martyrdom, as I conceiue.

And as for *Roffensis* his fellow Martyr (who could haue bene content to haue taken the Oath of the Kings Supremacy, with a certaine modification, which *Moore* refused) as his imprisonment was neither onely, nor principally for the cause of Supremacie, so died he but a halting and a singular Martyr or witnes for that most waightie head of doctrine; the whole Church of *England* going at that time, in one current and streame as it were against him in that argument, diuerse of them being of farre greater reputation for learning and sound iudgement, then euer he was. So as in this point we may wel arme our selues with the Cardinals owne reason, where  
he



he giueth amongst other notes of the true Church, *Vniuersality* for one, we hauing the general and Catholike conclusion of the whole Church of *England*, on our side in this case, as appeareth by their booke set out by the whole Conuocation of *England*, called, *The institution of a Christian man*; the same matter being likewise very learnedly handled by diuers particular learned men of our Church, as by *Steuens Gardiner* in his booke *de vera obedientia*, with a preface of Bishop Boners adioyned to it, *De summo & absoluto Regis Imperio*, published by M. Bekinsaw, *De vera differentia Regie Potestatis & Ecclesiastica*, Bishop *Tunstalls* Sermon, Bishop *Longlands* Sermon, the letter of *Tunstall* to Cardinall *Poole*, and diuers other both in English and Latine. And if the bitternesse of *Fishers* discontentment had not bene ted with his daily ambitious expectation of the Cardinals hat, which came so neere as *Calis* before he lost his head to fill it with, I haue great reason to doubt, if he would haue constantly perseuered in induring his martyrdom for that one most waightie head of doctrine.

And



And surely these two captaines and ring-leaders to martyrdome were but ill followed by the rest of their countrymen: for I can neuer reade of any after them, being of any great account, and that not many, that euer sealed that weighty head of doctrine with their blood in *England*. So as the true causes of their first falling in trouble (wherof I haue already made mention) being rightly considered vpon the one part; and vpon the other the scant number of witnesses, that with their blood sealed it; (a point so greatly accounted of by our Cardinal) there can but small glory redound therby to our English nation, these onely two, *Enoch*, and *Elias*, seruing for witnesses against our Antichristian doctrine.

And I am sure the Supremacie of Kings may, and will euer be better maintained by the word of God (which must euer be the true rule to discerne al weighty heads of doctrine by) to be the true and proper office of Christian Kings in their owne dominions, then he wil be euer able to maintaine his annihilating Kings, & their authorities, together with his base & vnreuerend speeches of  
O them,

The Supremacy of kings sufficiently warranted by the Scriptures.



a 4.Chron.

19.4.

b 2.Sam.5.6.

c 1.Chron.

13.12.

d 2.Sam.6.16

e 1.Chron.

28.6.

f 2.Chron.6.

g 2.King.22.

11.

h Nehe.9.38

David.

Salomon.

\* 2.King 18.4.

i 1.King 15.

12.

2.King 13.4.

k 2.Chron.

17.8.

l 1.King 2.

27.

m 2.Sam.7.

14.

n Psal.82.6.

&amp; Exod.22.8.

o 1.Sam.24.

11.

them, wherewith both his former great Volumes, and his late Bookes against *Venice* are filled. In the old Testament, Kings were directly <sup>a</sup>Gouernours ouer the Church within their Dominions; <sup>b</sup>purged their corruptions; reformed their abuses, brought the <sup>c</sup>Arke to her resting place, the King <sup>d</sup>dancing before it; <sup>e</sup>built the Temple; <sup>f</sup>dedicated the same, assisting in their owne persons to the sanctification therof; <sup>g</sup>made the booke of the Law new-found, to be read to the people; <sup>h</sup>renewed the couenant betweene God and his people; <sup>i</sup>brused the brasen Serpent in pieces, which was set vp by the expresse cōmandement of God, and was a figure of Christ; destroyed <sup>j</sup>all Idols, and false gods; made <sup>k</sup>a publike reformation, by a Commission of Secular men and Priests mixed for that purpose; deposed <sup>l</sup>the high Priest, and set vp another in his place: and generally, ordered euery thing belonging to the Church-gouernment, their Titles and Prerogatiues giuen them by God, agreeing to these their actions. They are called *the<sup>m</sup> Sonnes of the most High*, nay, *Gods<sup>n</sup> themselves*; *The<sup>o</sup> Lords anoynted*;



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anoynted; Sitting p in Gods Throne; His q ser-  
uants; The Angels of God; According to his  
f hearts desire; The light of Israel; The nursing  
fathers of the Church, with innumerable such  
titles of honor, wherwith the old Testament  
is filled; wherof our aduersary can pretend no  
ignorance. And as to the new Testament,  
Every soule is commanded to bee subiect vnto  
them, euen for conscience sake. All men y must  
be prayed for; but especially Kings, and those  
that are in Authority, that vnder them we may  
leade a godly, peaceable, and an honest life.

The Magistrate is the minister of God to doe  
vengeance on him that doth euill, & reward him  
that doeth well. Ye must obey all higher powers,  
but especially Princes, and those that are super-  
minent. Giue euery man his due, feare p to whom  
feare belongeth, and honour to whome honour.  
Giue d vnto Caesar what is Caesars, and to God  
what is Gods. e Regnum meum non est huius  
mundi. f Quis me constituit iudicem super vos?  
g Reges gentium dominantur eorum; vos autem  
non sic. If these examples, sentences, titles,  
and prerogatiues, & innumerable other in  
the old and new Testament, do not warrant  
Christian

p 2.Chro.9.8  
q 2.Chron.  
6.18.  
r 2.Sam.14.20  
f 1.Sam.13.4  
c 2.Sam.21.17  
u Isa.49.23.

x Rom.13.5.  
y 1.Tim.2.2.

a Rom.13.4

b 1.Pet.2.13.

c Rom.13.7

d Math.22.  
21.

e Iohn 18.36.

f Luke 12.14.

g Luke 22.25.



Christian Kings within their owne dominions, to gouerne their Church, as well as the rest of their people, in being *Custodes veriusq; Tabule*, not by making new Articles of faith, (which is the Popes office, as I said before) but by cōmanding obedience to be giuen to the word of God, by reforming the Religion according to his prescribed wil, by assisting the Spirituall power with the Temporall sword, by reforming of corruptions, by procuring due obedience to the Church, by iudging, and cutting off all friuolous questions and schismes, as *Constantine* did; and finally, by making *decorum* to be obserued in euery thing, & establishing orders to be obserued in all indifferent things for that purpose, which is the only intent of our Oath of Supremacy: If this office of a King, I say, doe not agree with the power giuen him by Gods word, let any indifferent man voyd of passion, iudge. But how these honourable offices, stiles, and prerogatiues giuen by God to Kings in the old and new Testament, as I haue now cited, can agree with the braue stiles and titles that *Bellarmino* giueth them, I can hardly cōceiue.

a. Engh. lib. 3.  
de visa Con-  
stantini.

1. That



1. That Kings are rather slaues then Lords.

1. De laici  
cap. 7.

2. That they are not onely subiects to Popes,  
to Bishops, & priests, but euen to deacons.

2. De Pont.  
lib. 1. cap. 7.

3. That an Emperour must content himselfe  
to drinke, not onely after a Bishop, but after a  
Bishops chaplen.

3. Ibidem.

4. That Kings haue not their Authoritie  
nor office immediatly from God, nor his Law, but  
onely from the Law of Nations.

4. Ibidem, &  
de cler. cap. 28.

5. That Popes haue degraded many Empe-  
rours, but neuer Emperour degraded a Pope;  
nay, euen\* Bishops, that are but the Popes val-  
sals, may depose Kings & abrogate their Lawes.

5. De Pont. lib.  
3. cap. 16.

\* De Rom. Pon-  
tif lib. 5. cap. 8.

6. That Church-men are as farre aboue  
Kings, as the soule is aboue the body.

6. De laici  
cap. 18.

7. That Kings may be deposed by their peo-  
ple, for diuers respects.

7. De Pont. lib.  
5. cap. 8.

8. But Popes can by no meanes be deposed:  
for no flesh hath power to iudge of them.

8. De Pont.  
lib. 2. cap. 26.

9. That obedience due to the Pope is for con-  
science sake.

9. De Pont. 1  
lib. 4. cap. 15.

10. But the obedience due to Kings, is onely  
for certaine respects of order and policie.

10. De clericis  
cap. 28.

11. That these very Church-men that are  
borne and inhabite in Soueraigne Princes coun-  
treys,

11. Ibidem.



treys, are notwithstanding not their Subiects, and cannot be iudged by them, although they may iudge them.

12. *Ibidem.*

12. And, that the obedience that Churchmen giue to Princes, euen in the meanest and meere Temporall things, is not by way of any necessary subiection, but onely out of discretion, and for obseruation of good order and custome.

These contrarieties betweene the Booke of God and Bellarmines bookes, haue I heere set in opposition ech to other, *Ut ex contrarijs iuxta se positis, veritas magis elucescere possit.* And thus farre I dare boldly affirme, that whosoever will indifferently weigh these irreconcilable contradictions here set downe, wil easily confesse, that CHRIST is no more contrary to Belial, light to darkenesse, and heauen to hell, then Bellarmines estimation of Kings is to Gods.

Now as to the Conclusion of his letter, which is onely filled with strong and pithy exhortations, to perswade and confirme Blackwell to the patient and constant induring of Martyrdome, I haue nothing to answer, saue by way of regrate; that so many  
good



good sentences drawn out of the Scripture, so well and so handsomely packed vp together, should be so ill and vntruely applied. But an euill cause is neuer the better for so good a cloake; and an ill matter neuer amended by good wordes: and therefore I may iustly turne ouer that *Craft of the Deuill* vpon himselfe, in vsing so holy-like an exhortation to so euill a purpose. Only I could haue wished him, that he had a little better obserued his *decorum* herein, in not letting slip two or three prophane wordes amongst so many godly mortified Scripture sentences. For in all the Scripture, especially in the new Testament, I neuer read of *Pontifex Maximus*. And the *Pope* must be content in that style to succeede according to the Law and institution of *Numa Pompilius*, and not to *S. Peter*, who neuer heard nor dreamed of such an office.

And for his *Caput fidei*, which I remembered before, the Apostles (I am sure) neuer gaue that style to any, but to CHRIST. So as these stiles, wherof some were neuer found in Scripture, and some were neuer applied  
but



but to CHRIST in that sense as he applieth it, had bene better to haue bene left out of so holy and mortified a letter.

To conclude then this present discourse, I heartily wish all indifferent readers of the *Breues* and *Letter*, not to iudge by the speciousnes of the words, but by the weight of the matter; not looking to that which is strongly alledged, but iudiciously to consider what is iustly proued; And for all my owne good and naturall Subiects, that their hearts may remaine establisht in the Truth; that these forraine inticements may not seduce them from their natall and naturall duetie; and that all, aswell strangers as naturall Subiects, to whose eyes this discourse shall come, may wisely and vnpartially iudge of the Veritie, as it is nakedly here set downe, for clearing these mists and cloudes of calumnies, which were iniustly heaped vpon mee: for which ende onely I heartily pray the courteous Reader to be perswaded, that I tooke occasion to publish this discourse.

MUSEVM  
BRITAN  
NICVM



